THE

CHACHNAMAH,

AN ANCIENT

HISTORY OF SIND,

Giving the Hindu period down to the Arab Conquest.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

BY

MIRZA KALICHBEG FREDUNBEG,

Deputy Collector, Naushahro, Hyderabad District.

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DEDICATED

TO

H. E. M. JAMES, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S.,

COMMISSIONER IN SIND.

PREFACE.

There is a real need for a good history of Sind. As it requires an abler hand to write such a history, I thought of furnishing materials for it, in the form of bare historical facts, collected and translated from some Persian manuscripts, which are mostly unknown to the public, and often difficult to obtain.

Commencing with the ancient history of Sind, which consists of the Hindú period down to the Arab conquest, I could only find three books of some importance on the subject, *viz.*,—the Chachnámah, the Táríkh Maasúmí, and the Tuhfatulkirám. As the last two books were written after the first book and were partly based on it, and as they did not give much detailed account of the period, I preferred the Chachnámah as my text book, and commenced translating it. At first I intended to give as many facts on the same subject as I could collect from different books, in my own words, but I was advised by a learned friend of mine to confine myself, in the beginning, to one book alone and give a faithful translation of it, leaving the future historian as well as the general public to form their own judgment about the verity of the facts from the style, the tone and the characteristics of the original author. Accordingly I took in hand the literal translation of the Chachnámah.

But in doing that work I experienced many difficulties. There were so many mistakes and gaps in my copy of the book, that I was obliged to collect as many copies as possible from different quarters, in order to compare my copy with them and to fill up the blank spaces and correct the mistakes. I succeeded in securing seven or eight copies from Hyderabad, Tatta, Sukkur and Shikárpur, through the kindness and indulgence of some of my friends. After a deal of trouble and patience, and with the assistance of some Arabic scholars, I corrected the mistakes and filled up the gaps as far as possible.* Then I translated the book, keeping as close to the original words as possible.

* Unfortunately almost all the copies were full of mistakes and gaps.

I have given numerous notes, both explanatory and referential, which, I hope, will prove useful to the reader. I have also given comparative extracts translated from the Táríkh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám, about the same events. I have given references to chapters and parts of the Korán for the verses quoted from it, often using Sale's translation. I have given equivalent years of the Christian era for those of the Muhammadan era from Mr. Richardson's Chronological Tables. In writing proper names I have followed the Hunterian system of transliteration, except that for the letter ع (*ain*) I have used the letter A.

In doing the translation, I have been obliged occasionally to use a few words and phrases, for the sake of idiom or style, that are not in the original book. These will be found in parenthesis.

A word now about the Chachnámah itself and some other histories of Sind. It will be seen from the book that the Chachnámah is a Persian translation of an Arabic manuscript on the conquest of Sind by Arabs, written by Alí son of Muhammad Kúfí, originally of Kúfah (in Syria), but subsequently a resident of Uch, in 613 A. H. (1216 A. D.) About the year 991 A. H. (1583 A. D.),* Mír Muhammad Maasúmsháh, a Sayad of Bakhar, wrote a history of Sind in Persian and called it the Táríkh Maasúmí. It gives the Hindú as well as the Mussalman period down to his own time.† Then in the reigns of Emperor Akber and his son Jahángír, other books were written on the subject, as for instance, the Arghún námah, the Tarkhán námah, and the Beglar námah, which treated chiefly of some particular rulers in whose periods their authors lived. Later on in 1187 A. H. (1773 A. D.) Sayad Alí Sher Kánea, a resident of Tatta, wrote a book on universal history in three parts, the last of which treated of the history of Sind. It contains a concise

* In one place, it is 1,009 A. H. in the Táríkh Maasúmí.

† The Tárikh Maasùmí was translated into Sindhi by Munshi Nandírám and published in 1861 A. D. I have not seen any printed copy of the Persian book.

history of Sind up to his own time, *i.e.*, up to the reign of Mián Sarfráz Kalhórá.*

KALICHBEG.

Hyderabad,
20*th November* 1900.

NOTE.

I have to offer my hearty thanks to Dayaram Gidumal, Esq., B.A., LL.B., C.S., Sessions Judge, Shikarpur, for the trouble he has taken in going through the manuscript and seeing the proofs of the book, and in writing a learned introduction for it.

K. F. M.

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* This book was printed some years ago without the permission of the heirs of the author, and several copies were disposed of secretly.

interesting, which I hope [illegible]. I have also given [illegible] extracts from [illegible] Masum and the Tuhfatulkiram about the same events. I have given references to [illegible] and parts of the Koran [illegible] from it, [illegible] Sale's translation. [illegible] years of the Christian era for [illegible] are from Mr. Richardson's Chronological Tables. In writing proper names I have followed the Hunterian System of transliteration, except that for the letter [illegible] I have used the letter k.

[illegible] will be found in parenthesis.

[illegible] few words about the Chachnamah itself and some other histories of Sind. It will be seen from the book that the Chachnamah is a Persian translation of an Arabic [illegible]

[illegible] Mir Muhammad Masum [illegible] a Sayed of Bakhar, wrote a history of Sind in Persian and called it the Tarikh Masumi. It gives the Hindu [illegible] down to his own time. [illegible] Emperor Akbar and [illegible] written on the subject [illegible] the Tarikhi Tahiri and the Beglar-namah [illegible] Sayed Ali Sher Kani, a resident of Tatta, wrote [illegible] an universal history in three parts, the last of which treated of the history of Sind. It contains [illegible]

* He was [illegible] 1009 A.H. [illegible]

† The Tarikh Masumi was [illegible] published in 1902 A.D. [illegible] Persian Press.

INTRODUCTION.

The Chachnámah is the oldest history of Sind. It was at one time thought a romance, but ever since Elphinstone rehabilitated its real character, there has been no doubt as to its being a history. There have been, however, conflicting opinions as to the weight to be attached to it, and, it was, therefore, thought desirable to translate the whole of the book, as literally as possible, in order to enable historical students to settle this question for themselves.

The so-called translation by Lieutenant Postans in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. LXXIV, 1838 and No. CXI, 1841) is really no translation at all, as Sir H. Elliot has pointed out, (*vide* the History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. I, p. 137); and Elliot's own extracts, though copious, are a very small part of the book. The present translation, therefore, is really the first, and in order to make it completely independent, the translator has not even looked at Postans' work or Elliot's.

The Chachnámah is a valuable record for various reasons. It shows us, in the first place, that Buddhism was the dominant religion in Sind, in the 7th century. The word Samání (originally Shráman) occurs several times, and we are told of Buddha temples, Buddha monasteries, and even of Buddha extremists, who considered it against their religion to take up arms in their own defence against the Mussalmans. We, moreover, read of Buddhia "a district conterminous with that of Siwistan on the North" (*vide* Haig's work on the Indus Delta Country, p. 57), and a village in the Sukkur Taluka is still called Buddhia. We see also that the Buddhists and the Brahmans lived in amity, and the importance of this fact cannot be overestimated.

The Buddhistic records now available to us show that Asóká did not make Buddhism a State Religion. "There never was such a thing as a State Religion in India. Asóká certainly extended his patronage, formerly confined to Brahmans only, to the new brotherhood founded by

Buddha, but there was nothing in India corresponding to a Defender of the Faith" (*Vide* "The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" by Max Muller p. 34). The testimony of Megasthenes, who visited India in the third century B. C.—that is the century in which Asóká lived—points to the same conclusion. (*Vide* "Ancient India" by J. W. Mc Crindle 1877, p. 97, *et seq.*)

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian was in India from 399 to 414 A. D., and the celebrated Hiouen-thsang was there from 629 to 645 A. D. The fourth century of the Christian era has been called by Max Muller the century of the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature, under Buddhist kings. The 7th was the century which saw the decay of Buddhism. But even in that century, Shiládtya Harshavardhana, (called also Harsha) of Kanyakubja, was a patron—according to Hiouen-thsang—alike of those who adhered to the Vedas and of those who worshipped Buddha; and his religious assemblies were attended not only by Shrámans but also by Brahmans.

Hiouen-thsang is corroborated by the Harsha-charita of Baná who was not a Buddhist, and by the original author of the Chachnámah, who was an Arab. We have thus Brahman, Buddhist, Greek, and Arab testimony as to the amicable relations subsisting between the followers of the two religions, upto the 7th century; and the testimony of the Arab, now given to the English-knowing world, for the first time, is, to my mind, of the greatest value.

The Chachnámah further bears out all that has been said by Muir, in his History of the Khalifate, as to the principles followed by Mussalman rulers in the government of conquered nations. One of the most remarkable edicts mentioned in this book is that in which Hajjáj informed Muhammad Kásim that, the subject population were not to be interfered with, in the exercise of their own religion, even if they worshipped stocks and stones. The Muhammadan rulers welcomed converts, but if any person chose to follow his own religion, he had merely to pay the usual poll-tax (Jizia), and, on such payment, was free to follow it. Of course it not seldom happened that this law was not loyally carried out, but Muhammad Kásim at least appears to have been true to it.

The Mahabharata and the ancient Smritis show that, in Hindu times, whatever wars took place, the tillers of the soil, were never injured; and it is pleasing to find that Muhammad Kásim also, in his memorable campaign, made an exception in favour of the peasantry and of artisans. He, moreover, re-employed the Brahman revenue-collecting establishment of his Hindu predecessor, and allowed them a liberal percentage of their collections as their remuneration. The Brahman Prime Minister of Dáhar was installed as the Prime Minister of Muhammad Kásim, and several Hindu chieftains, whose principalities had been guaranteed to them, became Muhammad Kásim's allies and counsellors.

It is extremely doubtful if Sind could have been conquered at all, had these chiefs remained true to their king, and, curious as it may seem, it was ostensibly astrology that made traitors of them. For they said: "Our wise men have predicted that Sind will come under the sway of Islam. Why then should we battle against Fate." They thus indulged in that "excellent foppery of the world," by which "we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon and the stars, as if we were villains on necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion, knaves, thieves and treachers by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on." The result of course was disastrous.

But though these chiefs were very much to blame, the king himself was undoubtedly a greater sinner. It was he who, by the advice of a credulous minister, solemnised his marriage with his own sister, to prevent the working of a prediction. The marriage was not intended to be consummated, and, as a matter of fact, it was not consummated; but the impious ceremony nevertheless alienated from Dáhar not only his brother but all the best and bravest men in the land. The act was one of crass stupidity, and we have now in Sindhi, thanks to Dáhar, a word, Dáhiri, which signifies an unmitigated fool. The "juggling fiends" did not even "keep the word of promise" to his ear, and it was a just retribution that the very astrology which made him violate the sacred law, was pleaded by his faithless feudatories as a justification for deserting his cause.

It was, however, not merely the king and his nobles who failed to keep to the strait path of duty: the masses appear also to have degenerated. We have only a few passages in the Chachnámah which give us a glimpse of the people, but these few record nothing creditable to them. At Debál, a Brahman came forward to betray his countrymen; the Samání of Nirankot, to save his precious head, entered into a private treaty with Hajjáj, and helped the Mussalmans, without the least compunction; and other Samánís persuaded the people to submit, because, forsooth, the religion of Buddha was a religion of peace. We also read of a very large class, I mean the Lohana Jats, labouring under extraordinary disabilities. General Cunningham has identified the Jats "with the Xanthii of Strabo and the Iatii of Pliny and Ptolemy," and even fixed their parent country; but whether they came from the Oxus or from Kandahar, or from the steppes of Central Asia, and whether they and the Meds were descended from Ham the son of Noah as Muhammadan historians allege, or were the Jartikas and Madras of the Mahabharata, or the Dasyus of the Rig-Veda whom the Aryas called niggers in their day, it is certain that there were very large numbers of them in Sind, the Panjab, Cutch and Rajputana. In the 7th century, Sind and the Panjab formed a single kingdom, and the Chachnámah records that, Chach, the great Brahman king, planted deodar and poplar trees on the northern frontiers of his dominions near Kashmere, and that Muhammad Kásim saw those trees and planted some more. We also read that, the deceased husband of the fair but false Suhandi, the predecessor of Chach, had relations in Rajputana; and the ancient ballads of that country as well as Gujerat tell of many Rajput Chiefs who had kinsmen in Sind. There appears, indeed, to have been an ancient federation of Rajputs, a remnant of which we still have in the Kathiawar States. The attitude of Rajput Princes towards the Jats and the Meds does not appear to have been hostile, but Chach who was opposed by these tribes not only disarmed them but degraded them. They were not at liberty to wear silks or satins, or to ride on saddled horses, or even to wear shoes or a turban. They were to work as hewers of wood, and as spies and caravan-guides, and were always to have a dog at their heels. Under such treatment these tribes waxed so unruly and turbulent that Muhammad Kásim

compared them to "the wild men of Fars and of Mount Payeh."

As to the condition of women, we learn from the Chachnámah that Chach married the widow of a Lohana Prince whom he had subjugated, that Suhandi, though she was the wife of a Rajput, kept some sort of pardah, and that Dahár's sister and other women of his family burnt themselves to death, in the good old fashion introduced by Rajput heroines. We are also told of a sorceress, who could "put a girdle round about the earth" in somewhat more than forty minutes, could bring fresh nutmegs from Ceylon in the twinkling of an eye, and, by means of her weird second sight, discover whether a person was alive on the face of the earth. The story of the tragic fate of Dáhar's daughters, after they wreaked their vengeance on Muhammad Kásim, is well known. It has been considered apocryphal, but I do not propose to go into such debateable questions, in this introduction.

The Chachnámah tell us next to nothing of the daily life lived in those ancient days, though we can gather from its pages that, besides Shrámans and Brahmans, there were rich merchants, at least at Alor, that there were workers in marble who could make life-like statues, even equestrian statues, that the very powerful discus used by Dáhar with signal effect was probably of home manufacture, that there was a large class of artisans, and that the bulk of the population lived by agriculture. We read of a Buddhist monk who apparently knew the art of war, and there is little doubt that almost all the officials were Brahmans, even before Chach usurped the throne. There were also numerous temples, Buddhistic as well Brahmanic, which were frequented by the people, especially, on holidays, and which had large revenues. There was not a rack left behind of them, when the English assumed the government of the country.

The geographical information given by the Chachnámah is of great value. But it would require a volume to do justice to that information, and to discuss the various theories that have been advanced as to the situation of the numerous places mentioned in this book. For the same reason, I do not propose to discuss the historical

accuracy of the various events narrated in the Chach-námah, or to choose between the conflicting versions of one and the same event occasionally given by the author, or, rather by the authors: for there can be little doubt that the original work in Arabic was composed by the Sakifí family, which settled down at Bakhar, and the pedigree of which is given in the Persian Translator's preface.

The Sakifí family appear to have been very industrious in collecting information about their kinsman Muhammad Kásim's campaign. The sources of their knowledge may be classified as follows:—

1. Arab historical lays, and ballads.

2. Family traditions of the Sakifís, recorded and unrecorded.

3. Stories told by individuals whose names were forthcoming.

4. Stories traceable to individuals of a certain class, *e.g.*, Brahmans.

5. What may be called the Flotsam and Jetsam of hearsay.

In addition to these, they probably had some memoranda of the correspondence between Muhammad Kásim and Hajjáj, and perhaps the whole correspondence. All these materials appear to have been worked up into a consecutive narrative in Arabic, and that narrative was placed at the disposal of Ali Kúfí in the begining of the 13th century, by the Sakifí family. Ali Kúfí dealt with the narrative, to a certain extent, in the way in which the author of the Anwári Suheli dealt with what are called Pilpay's fables. The story of Suhandi's love-making is an instance in point; and, perhaps, the analogue to the story of Potiphar's wife, in connection with Jaisiah's adventures, is another. But if we except these two instances, and the metaphors used to describe sunrise and sunset, the language of Ali Kúfí is very simple, and I have little doubt that, though he paraphrased some passages, and added a few Persian "purple patches," he has faithfully rendered into his vernacular the bulk of the old Arabic manuscript.

Ali Kúfí's embroideries have the great merit of being transparent; and the historical student is, therefore, not likely to be misled by them. It is quite likely that he amplified the memoranda of Muhammad Kásim's correspondence into long letters, but he could not have invented the Arabic verses which form an important part of the book. It may be noted here that, with the exception of the verses in the tale of Suhandi's courtship, which are in Persian, all the rest are in Arabic, and but for Mufti Sachedino's help could not have been translated at all. Ali Kúfí has besides preserving these memorabilia, stated fully who were responsible for certain stories. He has also indicated, in many places, by the heading "tradition," what I have called the Flotsam and Jetsam of hearsay. The natural bias of the Sakifí family and the inaccuracies almost inseparable from hearsay are, thus, the two great drawbacks, for which the fullest allowance must be made in appreciating the historical evidence now placed before the public.

Like many an old history, the Chachnámah is a "chronology of selfishness and pride." The only sturdy and earnest persons we come across are Muhammad Kásim and Jaisiah. It has been said: "Time and space are but physiological colours which the eye makes, but the soul is light; and history is an impertinence and an injury, if it be anything more than a cheerful apologue or parable of my being and becoming." The Chachnámah, most certainly, does not come up to this high standard, but it does enable us to see how "the whirligig of time brings in his revenges." It shows also that eventually we get the government we deserve.

DAYARAM GIDUMAL.

Dhulia, 20*th November* 1900.

The Persian Translator's Preface.

In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate.

Unlimited praise and gratitude are due to that One all-nourishing, all-powerful, all-forgiving, and compassionate Being, Who is the protector of the earth and the heavens, and the guardian of the world, and its inhabitants, and Who has brought so many thousands of concordant and discordant forms of creatures from the plane of nonentity to the plane of existence. He allotted to every one a distinct shape and motion and calling, to every one He gave a different colour, and a peculiar habit; and for every one He appointed a different art and a different profession. And He made every one pleased with his own line and his own lot.

And boundless blessings and innumerable praises are due to the dauntless leader and chief of all the prophets and saints, and the intercessor for the host of sinners on the day of judgment; to whom praise is accorded by the blessed and holy God in His sacred Word and glorious Book (where it is said "Muhammad is really an apostle * "), and whose honour and dignity are confirmed by the greatness of the Great Being with the sublime decree: "T. H. We have not sent down the Koran unto thee that thou shouldst be unhappy."† According to a tradition, the angel Gabriel once brought the following message from God to the Prophet: "O moon of the fourteenth night, ‡ by your coming into existence all (*future*) apostleship has come to an end. All your wishes and requests are complied with by the eternal Being. Why, then, are you troubled at heart and anxious? Say what burden lies on your heart, so that I

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* Alkoran, chap. 3, part 4. It may be noted here that there are 114 chapters and 30 parts in the Koran. The parts are more commonly known. We shall give reference to both.

† Alkoran. The beginning of the 20th chap., part 16. The letters 'T. H.' are some of those mystic letters that are to be found in the beginning of several chapters in the Koran.

‡ *I. e.*, full moon.

may relieve you of it, by bringing you good news." Thereupon the leader of the way and the guide to truth unlocked the casket of thought and uttered words, precious as pearls, saying: "O brother Gabriel, verily, he was a grateful servant*: inasmuch as I have received so many marks of favour and (*so many*) encouraging words from the great and august court of God, Who in one place has conveyed tidings of mercy to the people of the world by saying 'We have not sent thee, O Muhammad, otherwise than as a mercy unto all creatures'; † in another place, has favoured my companions by my apostleship, by saying 'Muhammad is the apostle of God and those who are with him (are fierce against the unbelievers, but compassionate towards one another); ‡' in a third place, has made secure the treasury of prophetship with the stamp of apostolic seal, by declaring 'Muhammad is the apostle of God and the seal of the prophets'§; and in a fourth place, has issued the decree of happiness to the pious and the true, and of solemn threats to the (spiritually) poor, the wicked and the refractory, by saying 'O prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, (and be severe unto them)' ‖; and inasmuch as I have been charged with the control of religion and have been made the crowning end of apostleship, it is but meet that the darkness of error and heresy be displaced by the light of Islam and faith, the foundation of hypocrisy and ignorance be destroyed, the standards of Islam be raised high, the duration of this religion and the laws of this faith be made permanent and everlasting, as in the primeval days of the world, and not liable to any kind of injury, and the rose of righteousness be preserved unimpaired by the thorn of heresy and dissent." Gabriel (peace be on him!) departed with the above message and immediately returned, and said: "O Muhammad (on whom and on

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* Alkoran, chap. 17, part 15. Said of Noah, but applies to every prophet. Here it applies to Muhammad, who is the speaker.

† Alkoran, chap. 21, part 17.

‡ Alkoran, chap. 48, part 26. The part of the verse in parentheses is not given in the text, but is given here to make the context clear. The preceding part of the verse is "It is he who hath sent his apostle with the direction and the religion of truth, that he may exalt the same above every religion; and God is a sufficient witness hereof."

§ Alkoran, chap. 33, part 22.

‖ Alkoran, chap. 9, part 10.

whose descendants be peace and the blessings of God), the great God has given His greetings and blessings to you. I am to obey the immutable command of God, that has been issued afresh, *viz.*, 'Verily (O Muhammad), thou canst not direct whom thou wilt, but God directeth whom He pleaseth; (*and He best knoweth those who will submit to be directed*) * O Muhammad, on whom and on whose children be the blessings of God, and peace, whenever We call any person to Us, he will come to our court by your calling him, and whenever We drive away any person from Our court, no being will be able to call him back to Us. When We created man, We exclaimed 'Am not I thy Lord'? † The appointed souls with the excessive desire of fulfilling the words, "They answered yea," † bent low on their knees, and acknowledged Our unity. We shall shine conspicuously on the servants of the kingdom of Muhammad (on whom and on whose descendants be the blessings of God and peace), and in the reign of that favourite of ours, in order that, through his intercession and importunity, they may be invested with the honour of Islam, while all those who would disobey Us and make excuses and pretexts for (such disobedience) will be denounced as infidels and misguided beings, and in accordance with Our order, 'Wage war against the infidels and hypocrites,' ‡ and in obedience to Our hint,—'Kill the idolators wheresoever ye shall find them,'§ will be made the food of blood-thirsty swords and heart-piercing spears and arrows. The accounts of the conquests of Khurásán, Ajam, Irák, Shám, Rúm and Hind ‖ will be entered in records, and the memory of these will, for ever, remain on the margins of time; and God knows best the right thing."

* Alkoran, chap. 28, part 20. The remaining part of the verse is given in parentheses.

† Alkoran, chap. 7, part 9. The full verse is "And when the LORD drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, saying, 'Am not I your Lord'? They answered 'Yea, we do bear witness.'"

‡ Alkoran, chap. 9, part 10.

§ Alkoran, chap. 9, part 9. The continuation of the verse is "And take them prisoners and beseige them and lay wait for them in every convenient place."

‖ Ajam is any non-Arab country, chiefly Persia; Irák is the old Babylonia or Chaldea, including the cities of Basra and Kufah; Shám is Syria; and Rúm is Greece and also Rome.

The occasion for writing this exquisite account, and for recording this pleasant history, happened to arise at a time when the kingdom of the august prince, the martyr, the king of Islam, the sovereign of a great empire, the monarch of the territories of God, the supporter of the servants of God, the helper of the creatures of God, the destroyer of the foundation of heresy and error, the strengthener of the laws of religion and true faith, the defender of the saints of the world, the conqueror of the tribes of the children of Adam, the glory of secular and religious worlds, the supporter of Islam and the Moslems, the chief person in the world, Abul Muzaffar Muhammad son of Sám Násir,* the Commander of the Faithful (may God pardon him and make paradise his resting place and his habitation!), had just been adorned with the honour of the empire of the glorious and the powerful king, the greatest sovereign, the agent of God, the chief of mankind, the founder of the seat of the Khalífat, the helper of the world and of religion, the glory of the standards of Islam, the vanquisher of enemies and rebels, Abulfath Kabácha-tussalátín, the Commander of the Faithful.† *On his succeeding to the throne*, the tent curtains of his greatness were pulled up and firmly fixed with the ropes of constitutional sway (and the strength of strong) tribes, and his positive and negative commands were strictly and absolutely obeyed in various parts of the world and countries inhabited by the children of Adam. (*In his reign*) all the rebellious and refractory people drew their heads into the collar of retirement (*and disappeared*); and the abstinent and the pious brought their feet within the skirts of the garment of tranquillity and safety. Thanks to the great God, the constitution of the kingdom and the administration of the empire are *excellent* to such a degree that in every direction the sublime heavens make a firm resolution to co-operate with

A reference to Kabácha-tussalátín.

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* This prince, Sultan Muhammad Sám, known by the name of Shahábuddín, was the first of the Ghori dynasty who took possession of Ghazni in 570 A. H. and reigned for 32 years.

† This is, no doubt, Sultan Nasíruddín Kabáchah, who, about the close of the reign of the Ghor dynasty, came into possession of Uch, Multan and Sindh, and was defeated by a detachment of Changez Khan and subsequently by Sultan Shamsuddín Eltamish, and died accidentally by drowning during his flight about the year 625 A. H. Nasíruddín Kabáchah was son-in-law to Sultan Kutbuddín I'bak.

him, and the bride of empire puts her arm on his neck with willingness and pleasure.

Verses—" O king! may the kingdom be lucky to you; and may the whole world be granted to you. By your existence, tyranny and injustice have disappeared; by your assistance may the foundation of justice and equity be firm. Public orations have become prominent and exalted by your name *being mentioned* in them; may years and months be *long* honoured in the same way. Whatever could not be found or procured in the reign of King Jamshed,* may that be made subject and continue subject to your signet, may the auspicious crown of your glorious magnanimity remain under the shadow of the great name of God. Every heart that entertains evil thoughts towards you, may all its affairs be in confusion like the ringlets of *beautiful charmers*. As long as 'much' and 'little' are brought into calculation *in this world*,† may your friends be many and your foes few

May the great king make firm and strong the constitution of this kingdom and the splendour of this empire, by giving it permanence and perpetuity, and may he always preserve the structure of this state and protect the fortifications of this affluence from the accidents of time and the mishaps of nature. May public orations adorn the pulpits, and his impression adorn the coins, with his great titles and appellations, till the end of the world; and may the sun of his world-encircling greatness and the moon of his royalty rise glowing from the horizon of glory and the eminence of perfection, as long as the earth remains fixed and the heavens revolve, for the sake of Muhammad and all his children and friends.

The reason of the compilation of this book.

Alí Kúfí,‡ the writer of this book on the history of Hind and the recorder of the conquest of Sind,§ the household slave of Muham-

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* Jam or Jamshed is the name of an ancient King of Persia, but in Persian books it is often confounded with Alexander the Great or King Solomon. Here, it evidently refers to Solomon, who is said to have had all creatures under the influence of his ring or signet.

† That is to say, as long as the difference between the two opposite words 'much' and 'little' or 'many' and 'few' is recognised by men.

‡ Kufi means a resident of Kufah, a town in Syria (Asia Minor).

§ The name is pronounced as Sindh now, but as in Persian it is *d* and not *dh*, rhyming with Hind, I write it so.

mad* son of Alí, who was a son of Hámid wd. Abíbakr Kúfí, had spent a period of his life in leisure and repose, and obtained a good deal of pleasure and enjoyment in this world. But subsequently, owing to the vicissitudes of time and changes of fortune, he left his dear native place and took his residence in the sacred town of Uch,† where he rested for some days. Again, the divine order "We cause these days *of different success* interchangeably to succeed each other among men" ‡ was received, and the wine-server of destiny changed the drink of joy into the poison of sorrow. During the stay of the writer at the above place, he had to experience pleasures successively, and again, owing to the hardships of the revolving heavens, he had to taste many a drink of poison and to bear many a blow of calamity. In 613 A. H.,§ at the age of 58, he put aside every other occupation and busied himself in reading exquisite books He began to reflect (and to wish) that, as something of every science or branch of knowledge and other miscellaneous subjects had been already inscribed on the mind of the writer, and as learned men and erudite philosophers of the time have, in their respective ages, written some history or other book, with the help of their patrons and masters, and thus left behind them a relic of their memory; [as for instance, the conquest of Khurásán, of Fárs (Persia), of Rúm (Turkey), of Shám (Syria), the account of which has been given, both in prose and poetry, with full details, by the writers of the past]; and as the conquest of Hindustan by Muhammad Kásim and the chiefs of Arabia and Syria, the spreading of Islam in that country, the building of mosques and pulpits from the sea to the limits of Kashmír and Kanúj; the death of Rái Dáhar Chach, son of Seláij, who resided at the capital city of Alór, at the hands of the great Amir, the pillar of state and religion, Muhammad son of Kásim son of Ukail, Sakifí (may God have mercy on him!), and the transfer (of that) whole territory together with its dependencies to him, had not yet been known to the world, a history should

* By "household slave," he means him a son.

† A town near Bahawalpur.

‡ Quoted from the Koran (Chap. III, Part IV).

§ Equivalent to 1216 A.D.

be written by him* describing all those events. With this object in view, I began to trouble myself, in obedience to what had then become my ruling passion, and I started from the blessed town of Uch for the towns of Alor and Bakhar,† the leading men of which places are descended from the Arabs. When I arrived at that city (Alór), I visited my lord and master the Kázi, the great Imám (*or leader in prayers*), the learned man excelling in virtue and science, the paragon of religion and religious belief, the chief of rulers, Ismáil son of Alí, son of Muhammad, son of Músá, son of Táí, son of Yákúb, son of Táí, son of Músá, son of Muhammad, son of Shahábuddín, son of Usman Sakifí‡ (may God perpetuate his excellence, and pardon his fore fathers and ancestors in the name of Muhammad and all his descendants), who is the type of superiority in eloquence and the very soul of wisdom in oratory, and who has no equal in the Persian arts and sciences, and no sharer in the treasures of rhetoric. He informed me that an account of this conquest had been written in the Arabic language by his ancestors in a manuscript which had been handed down as a heritage from one to another to his time, and that as it was covered under the veil of the Arabic language, it had not come to the notice of the people of Persia and other countries.

The translation of the book.

When I became acquanted with that book, (*I found it to be*) a book adorned with jewels of wisdom and embellished with pearls of morality. Various deeds of bravery and valour of the people of Arabia and Syria were depicted in it, and various sorts of courage and wisdom were described in it. (*It was clear from it that*) every fort that was conquered was the cause of a number of victories, and was (*the light of*) morning to the night of error and depravity; and every district that in those days was ennobled with the honour of Islám and secured, was illumined with pulpits and mosques, and enlivened by religious and devout men. Even down to our own time, every day in

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* In the original, the words are "I wished".

† "Alor" is now called Aror. It is about five miles to the east of Rohri and Bakhar is a small island in the river Indus between Rohri and Sukkur.

‡ To this same tribe, Sakifi Muhammad Kásim, the Arab conqueror of Sind, belonged.

that country has marked an increase in the beauty of Islam and righteousness and the excellence of knowledge and conscientiousness; and every period has resulted in the acquisition of a firm footing on the throne of sovereignty and power, through (*the exertions of*) the State servants of Muhammad (may the blessings of God and peace be on him and his descendants!). Ever afresh, the rust of error and ignorance is being rubbed off from the face of the mirror of Islam.

Dedication of the book to the Prince of Ministers, May his greatness increase!

When this religious record was taken out from the curtains of the Arabic language and covered under those of the Persian language, and when it was translated into prose and adorned with chains of style and ornaments of virtue and religiousness, I began to ponder in my mind, and came to the conclusion that such a wonderful new present and elegant book on conquest was worthy of the servants of the Minister, as thereby prosperity would guide my steps, and good fortune would smile on me. I said to myself: "For a long time, since the lapse of many a day and year of the past, I have been laying foundation for securing the favour and patronage of the master of the people, the Minister of the world, the Wazír of *Sahib Kirán*,* the honour of kings, the helper of the State and of Religion, the might of ministers, and the professor of both the pen and the sword (may God brighten his resting place and sanctify his earth), and I have been trying to shape the object of my soul so as to deserve his generosity and protection. And as his obligations as well as those of his descendants (may they be perpetually exalted and their ancestors absolved) are clinging to my neck, let me bring this book to his notice, since it is a book of conquest, which is based on spiritual rectitude and temporal excellence, and of which learned philosophers and generous kings would be proud, because all men attain advancement to perfection by acknowledging as true the belief of the people of Arabia and professing the faith of the possessors of sound principles." (*I was thus anxious to dedicate*) this book of conquest, which treats of the acts of valour and bravery of the people of Arabia and Syria, to this great and noble family

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* ***Sahib Kiran*** **means an august hero or lord, and has come to mean a great king.**

which is by descent and lineage an Arabian family, because in former years the conquest of Khurásán and Ajam had been completed by their noble grandfather, the great Amir, the glory of the chief men of Arabia, the administrator of religious affairs, the supporter of mankind, the pride of the children of Kuraish, Abú Músá Ash-harí. There are several books and detailed accounts written about his being the leader of armies and the conductor of forces. Wherever the unbelievers have been defeated and routed, the banners of Islám have been carried by their and his ancestors, as if this was a hereditary monopoly of theirs. This record of their successes goes up to the Commander of the Faithful, Umar son of Khattáb * (may the great God be pleased with him!), who, in addressing the true believers publicly, used to speak highly of the valuable services of this family. It is, therefore, but proper that this book be dedicated and presented to the exalted audience-hall of my lord, the best of masters, the possessor of the sword and the pen, the great and the glorified one, the victorious and brave, the chief of the country, the pride of the State and of Religion, the administrator of (many) regions, the glory of the ministers, Husain son of Abí Bakr, son of Muhammad Ash-harí. May God redouble his greatness and honour, as long as the day and night succeed each other, and the stars shine above, and diversity of ways continues, so that he may honour it (the book) by condescending to look at it and peruse it, and graciously accept it, as thereby it will be counted among the great things of the time.

An apology.

Although it is beyond my ability to dress myself in the clothes of learning and knowledge, and appear conspicuously before the Court, which is the fountain of excellence and the resort of the wise, still, when good luck called out my name, and universal generosity came to my assistance, and the sun of prosperity guided my way to this auspicious rising place, I prepared myself to bless and to praise that Chief, in whose eulogy the great and the learned men of the time have plied their tongues, and to bless whom the sages and the philosophers of the age have raised up their hands. This servant Alí Kufí, in order to perform the

* Who was the second successor of the Prophet.

duties of service incumbent on him, sincerely prays: "May the garden of prosperity of this seat of happiness and power be refreshed with the sweet and pure water of beneficence and benignity, and may it become green and fruitful with the moonlight of greatness and glory. The intrinsic truth and justice of the saying: 'Verily God is to be found among His servants, and the best provision is to be found in the next world' * is applicable to the subject of which the writer has been speaking, and of which he cannot express the importance sufficiently, not even in the proportion of one to a thousand or a particle to a heap. He has ventured to offer what he has been able to secure, in the hope that his trifle will find admittance to his august presence, and be honoured with acceptance, (as thereby) this book on conquest will remain permanently on the pages of (monumental) records, as long as the world lasts, and God is the lord of grace."

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* This is an Arabic saying.

THE CONQUEST OF HIND AND SIND.

An account of Rai Dáhar son of Chach son of Selaij and his death at the hands of Muhammad Kásim.

The reciters of stories and the authors of histories have related as follows. The town of Alór * was the capital city of Hind and Sind.† It was a town adorned with various kinds of royal buildings, villas, gardens, fountains, streams, meadows and trees (and was) situated on the bank of a river called the Mehrán.‡ In this beautiful and splendid city, there lived a king whose name was Sahiras son of Sáhasi Rai. This king had innumerable riches and immense buried treasures. His justice was well known in the world, and his liberality and bravery (were) widely spread. The limits of his dominions extended on the east to the boundary of Kashmir, on the west to Makran, on the south to the coast of the sea and Debal, and on the north to the mountains of Kurdan and Kíkánán.§ He had appointed four Governors (Maliks) in his kingdom : one at Brahminabad; and the fort of Nerun and Debal, Luhánah, Lákhah, Sammah and the river were left under his management; another at the town of Siwistán; and Ludhia, (1) Chingán, (2) the skirts of the hills of Rojhán ¶ up to the boundary of Makrán, were given into his

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* About Alór or Arór, the old capital of Sind, it is said, that it was built of baked bricks on a hill at the foot of which flowed the Indus. Probably the change in the course of the river was caused by an earthquake about 341 A. H.=962 A. D.

† It is said in the Tuhfatulkirám that the province of Sind derives its name from Sind, a brother of Hind, and that Sind and Hind were sons of Ham and grandsons of Núh (Noah) !! It is also said there that there were three aboriginal tribes in Sind which ruled there in succession They were Baniah, Ták and Múmiah.

‡ The old name of the Indus.

§ In the Tárikh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám, the boundaries given are as follow :—On the east Kashmir and Kanúj ; on the west Makran, the port of Lahor (Debal in the Tuhfatulkirám) and the Seashore of Omán ; on the north Kandhár, Sístán, the Sulemán Mountains and the Kíkánán hills; and on the south the seaport of Surat. Compare with these the present boundaries of Sind: On the east the Rajput States of Jodhpur and Jesalmir; on the west the Kelat territory; on the north the Kelat territory and portions of the Panjab and the Baháwalpur State; and on the south the Rann of Katch and the Indian Ocean, the average length from north to south being about 360 miles and the average breadth from east to west about 170 miles, and the whole area being about 57,000 square miles.

(1) In some copies Budhia or Budhpur (2) or Jankan.

¶ In one copy, it is written as Dalkhian.

charge; the third at the fort of Iskandah; and Bábiah, Sawárah, Jajhór,* and the supplementary territories of Dhanód were given in his possession; and the fourth at the town of Multan; and the towns of Sikkah, Karud, Ishthar and Kíh up to the boundary of Kashmir were entrusted to him. The king himself had his head-quarters in the city of Alór, retaining Kurdán, Kíkánán, and Barhamas directly under his sway.† Each of these Governors was called upon by the king to keep in readiness troops and arms, and accoutrements for horses. He ordered them to protect the interests of the country and the people, to look after the repairs of the (State) buildings, and to keep the feudal assignees and estate-holders happy. In his whole dominion, there was not a single refractory or rebellious head who perversely opposed the measures passed by him or (transgressed) the boundaries fixed by him.

As the great God willed it, all of a sudden an army of the king of Nímrúz‡ made an invasion on his country, and entered Kirmán. When King Sahiras§ got this news, he issued from the fort of Ráor¶ with his main army, with the steadfast purpose of meeting the enemy by advanced marches. He soon came up to them and the battle commenced. After a number of brave soldiers and illustrious warriors was slain on both sides, the people of Fars, placing full trust in the direction of the All-Powerful God and resigning everything to him, made a vigorous assault. The army of Rai Sahiras, completely overpowered and overthrown, took to flight. Sahiras, however, to

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* In one copy, it is Chachpur. (There is a Chachpur in the Rawalpindi District.)

† In the Tuhfatulkiram, it is said that Rai Sahiras built six mud forts in different parts of his country, *viz.*, at Uch, Mathelah, Sewrai, Mau (written as Mad in the *Sind Gazetteer*), Alor and Siwistan (now called Sewan, though some believe that Siwistan was the whole division, and Sewan was the name of the town or the fort only).

‡ A province of Fars (Persia). The author of the *Sind Gazetteer* writes "Nimruz, King of Persia," which is wrong.

§ It may be noted here that the Sahiras who fought with the king of Nimruz was Sahiras II. The first king of the Rai family mentioned here is Sahasi. But from the Tuhfatulkiram, it will appear that the first king known of this family is Rai Dewaij, who was succeeded by Sahiras I, who was succeeded by Sahasi I whose son was Sahiras II.

¶ In one manuscript Alór.

prevent ignominy, stood there fighting with the enemy till he was killed. The King of Fars returned to Nimruz, and Rai Sáhasi son of Rai Sahiras ascended the throne of his father and was confirmed in his kingdom. All the four governors who had been appointed by his father made obeisance to him, and behaved obediently and agreeably towards him. They surrendered their countries together with their treasures to him, and did not attempt to swerve from their fealty. Owing to his excellent policy and majestic dignity, Rai Sáhasi brought the kingdom under his firm control. The subjects and original residents of the country enjoyed much respect, and lived a happy life. He had a wazir, by name chamberlain Rám. Rám was well acquainted with the various departments of knowledge, and his administration was in every way absolute and supreme, inasmuch as there was none to interfere in his work, or to oppose him. The Council of State was entirely committed to his care and wise policy.* Rai Sahiras had also a firm belief in his eloquence and good logic, and he (the Rai) never overstepped his counsel or suggestion.

The coming of Chach son of Selaij to pay respects to the chamberlain Ram.

Once, when the chamberlain Ram,† the Brahman wazir, had come to his office, a Brahman came to visit him. He (that Brahman) began to praise (him) and speak highly of him in beautiful language. The chamberlain Ram asked him: "O Brahman, whence do you come and for what purpose have you taken the trouble of coming (here)." The Brahman replied "my name is Chach son of Seláij, Brahman My brother Jandab‡ and my father live in a temple in a rural place attached to the town of Alór, and pray for Rai Sáhasi and the chamberlain Ram. It occurred to me that I should pay a visit to you; and as eloquence is the origin of good fortune and the solver of difficulties, I thought of showing

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* The author of the Tárikh Maasúmí calls Rám the king's wazir, and makes no mention of Budhiman, who is mentioned as wazir by the Tuhfatulkirám.

† *Hájib* is the word used in the text. It appears that Ram was both Secretary and Chamberlain, as Chach eventually succeeded to both these offices.

‡ The proper name apparently is Jandar, as it is used lower down in several places. This seems to be a mistake in the copies. Jandar may itself be a mistake for Chandar.

you my readiness to serve you." The chamberlain Rám said, "No doubt, (in the matter of) eloquence and rhetoric, your speech is fluent enough, but are you acquainted with law and morals?" Chach replied: "I have all the four books of the Hindu religion on the tip of my tongue; if Your Excellency be pleased to give the word, I will recite some of those master-pieces of eloquence and rhetoric, on which I have been working so long. I shall thereby (also) show my sincerity and truthfulness." While they were thus conversing with each other, some despatches were received for consultation and disposal, from the direction of Debal. The chamberlain gave those letters to him. Chach read them out in his very best manner, and wrote a reply in the most chosen words and in an excellent hand-writing. When Rám acquainted himself with what he had written, he greatly applauded Chach for his consummate wit and cleverness. He extended his patronage to him by respecting him greatly and giving him rich presents He told him: "I have many important affairs for disposal. As I am the secretary in attendance at the Royal palace and have to do my office work, I am so busy that I have hardly sufficient time to discharge my duties properly. You will therefore be of some assistance to me." Chach accepted the offer and entered on his duties. In a short time, he became prominent in the correspondence department of the Council.

One day, Rai Sáhasi came to the public audience hall, and the great men and chieftains of the city were all present there. Some letters from the district of Siwistan* having arrived, the Secretary Rám was called. But he had not yet come to the Council office; so Chach sent word, saying, "I am the Assistant of the Secretary Rám. If anything is to be written, I am ready to write it and to dispose of the work in hand." King Sáhasi called him. Chach read out excellently the letters that had been received, and explained their purport with full details. He then wrote a reply in a sweet style and in a beautiful hand, and submitted the same to the king for perusal and approval. The king had a great liking for excellent penmanship. He went over the letter of Chach, and was much pleased with the style. He invested him with a robe of honour

* In the Tarikh Maasumi, Debal is mentioned here instead of Siwistan.

and ordered that he be confirmed in his post of Assistant Secretary.* When, (shortly afterwards,) the chamberlain Rám met the king in his palace, Rai Sáhasi asked him: "This assistant of yours is a very clever fellow; he is an eloquent speaker and a good writer. Whence have you brought him? Treat him kindly." The chamberlain Rám said: "He is a son of Selaij Brahman, and is an honest, straightforward and experienced man." When the chamberlain Ram found the king favourably inclined towards Chach, he asked him to do the work of the Secretary, too, for him and to carry on the whole business of that office during his presence or absence. Thus Chach began to perform important business, and disposed of State affairs and political matters in a business-like manner. Every time that he had occasion to go into the presence of the king, the latter rewarded him and patronised him by giving him a dress of honour or some other present, and advised him to persevere (diligently) in that course of employment, telling him that, by means of such employment, the affairs (of State) would be well transacted and he would be entitled to a higher post. In this fashion, the king went on encouraging him and giving him good hopes by making pleasant promises. (Eventually) as the great God willed it, the life of the chamberlain Ram cam- to its close and the hand of death tore the collar of his garment.

Chach son of Selaij entrusted with the post of Chamberlain and Secretary.

After this event, Rai Sáhasi called Chach to himself and conferred on him the office of Chamberlain and Secretary. Chach behaved towards the people with courtesy and kindness, so that (in a short time) he held firm sway over the whole kingdom and was obeyed by all. He was at one and the same time doing the work of Chamberlain and Secretary in an excellent manner.

One day, the king Sahasi Rai was sitting in a private apartment of his palace with his queen Suhandí. This lady had great influence over the king and had lived happily with him. (Just then) the Chamberlain Chach came to the door of the palace. He sent a message to Rai Sahasi, through the private Chamberlain (who had the privilege of going to the interior of the private apartments), to the effect that Chach had come to the door of the palace on an important business, and wanted to relate

* Or Assistant Chamberlain.

to the king what had happened, and that if the king had leisure the whole matter would be laid before him. The king asked his queen to go behind the curtain as a stranger was coming. (Hearing this), the queen Suhandi observed: "So many inferior people and menials come in; if a Brahman comes in, what inclination am I likely to have towards him and why should I feel shy and conceal myself from him? May a thousand lives of mine be sacrificed to the dust of Sáhasi's feet!" It was usual with the king not to act against the wishes of that lady whenever she pressed a point or insisted upon a thing; and often he was led away by her artifices and submitted to her cajoleries. So the king called Chach, who explained the State business that had brought him, and expressed himself on the subject very well.*

The queen falls in love with Chach, who becomes the Ruler through her love.

The Brahman Chach was a young man with a beautiful face and fair complexion. He was of a tall stature, and well proportioned with an argent person and ruby cheeks. When she looked at his handsome features and cypress-like stature, she fell in love with him a thousand fold with her heart and soul. She was fascinated and infatuated, and was struck dumb by his beauty, his form and his vesture. She was overpowered by his striking delivery and marvellous handwriting; and love for Chach obtained an abiding place in her soul, and the tree of affection found a firm footing in the land of her heart. The king had no offspring. The queen had no issue by him. She therefore sent a message to Chach through a cunning go-between in the following words:—"O Chach, the arrows of your eye-lashes have pierced the target of my heart and wounded it, and the chain of separation from you has been fastened on my neck. You will therefore be kind enough to administer some medicine from the dispensary of your union, and to remove the chain from my neck with the hand of your society. Adorn my neck and ears with the necklace of your love and with the ear-rings of your devotion. If you will not comply with my request, I shall kill myself. Quatrain—May it occur

* According to the Tuhfatulkiram, the queen was leaving the room of her own accord in the very beginning, but the king asked her to stay as he said Chach was a good Brahman.

to you to make this my heart happy and to free it from the pangs of your separation. But, O beloved, if you turn your face away from me, I shall raise a cry, that you are doing injustice to me."

When the old woman delivered the above message Chach expressed his abhorrence, and thought it proper to reject the proposal. "Disloyalty," said he, "in the seraglio of monarchs means (immediate) danger to life, punishment in the next world, and a bad name in this world. When the wrath of kings reaches its climax, it cannot be checked or resisted with any screen or any medicine. Therefore, let this alone. We, moreover, are Brahmans and my father and brother are ascetics, and are still sitting in their praying place resigning every thing to God. I do not approve of such infidelity. I am in the service of the king, and I should live between hope and fear. Such a thing is disapproved by wise men. One should not place any confidence in four things, *viz.*, a sovereign, fire, wind,* and water. I would not bring this contempt on my head. You will never gain this object from me."

When this message was brought to the queen, she became calmer and quieter and sent back the following reply:—"If you shrink from familiarity and intimacy with me, at least give me my due by showing your face to me every day, in season and out of season, so that the thought of your beauty may remain fresh in my mind and I may console myself by cherishing hopes of your union with me. Verse—Happy shall I be if I see you year in and year out, or even if I see you in imagination one single night in the whole period of my life. O my idol! I shall never be despondent in thinking of you; I shall see at least the night of your union one day."

When the eye began to play its part in the affair, and the heart was seized with (desire for) union of the beloved, a sympathy ultimately sprang up between them, which reached its consummation in morning meetings; and their love and intimacy increased beyond measure, and was confirmed by a solemn compact of permanent

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* In one copy, it is "a serpent" and not "wind." مار and باد are nearly alike in writing.

union. The king had no knowledge of their relations. There was indeed a party of their opponents who entertained evil suspicions regarding them, from the glances of the two, but as no one had observed anything (more suspicious), their secret was maintained. Some of the (said) enemies did inform the king and divulged (all that they knew), but he refused to accept their word, (saying) that such things were not likely to happen at his palace, and that the Chamberlain Chach was not likely to allow himself to be so ungrateful or do such an iniquitous thing.

Thus, in the course of time the entire kingdom came under the sway of Chach. Whatever he did was to the liking of the king, and king Sáhasi Rái did not dispose of any important business without first consulting him. In this way, every order issued by Chach, whether positive or prohibitive, came to be strictly obeyed throughout the dominion.

The passing away of Sáhasi Rái from this world.

At length, the divine decree burst into light from the curtains of mystery. The king fell ill, and his illness took a lingering turn. (By and bye), the signs of death changed the face of his life for the worse. The king's wife became very anxious. She called Chach and told him :—" The king's life is about to come to its close, and the signs of the cessation of his breath have already appeared. If the king dies, there is no issue of his to inherit the kingdom. His near relations, therefore, will secure all his property and his country. There is no doubt that they will disinherit and distress me, owing to their estrangement (from me). When even during the life-time of the king, they called me ugly names, they will at such a time as this deprive me of my life and property. One plan occurs to me, and I think it will turn out the right one, and if it is so destined, our wishes will be perfectly gratified and this kingdom will devolve upon you. My opinion is that, if we show our courage, the great God will hand over this kingdom to you, and its honour and glory will long remain with you, and all the people will pay allegiance to you." Chach said : " I am ready to obey you with all my heart, and whatever you propose must be very good. But it is a well-known maxim that consultation with upright servants is a duty. You must therefore acquaint me with what you have in your mind." Queen Suhandí said : " Issue an order

that fifty chains and fetters be made. Bring them secretly at night, conceal them in the house and keep them ready for use when required." Accordingly, under the orders of Chach, some heavy chains and fetters were made. They were brought into the innermost apartments of the palace under cover of night, and kept secure in a corner. When the king's last moments arrived and the death agony ensued, the physicians rose to leave. (But) Queen Suhandi asked them to wait in the house for a short time. At the same time, she directed a confidential servant to remove the king to an inner apartment and to close the gate, so that no one in the city should come to know that Sahasi was dead. She then asked him to bring a large number of her followers and dependents into the house. When these men were all brought in, she ordered her servant to call those near relations of the king, who were claimants to the throne (and whom she named one by one). In this way, every one was brought in separately, on the pretext that the king was better that day and wanted to consult him. When each came, he was sent to the appointed apartment where the queen's confidential men put each into chains. Thus, all of her rivals were imprisoned and secured in irons. Next, she sent for those relations of the king who were poor and in want. Each of these, as he came, was told: "To-day, the king is annoyed with such and such a relation of yours, owing to whose ill-treatment and misbehaviour he did not sleep soundly, and has imprisoned him. If you wish to be free from poverty and hunger, and acquire strength by means of wealth and property, go to that prison-room and remove the head of your enemy. Then put yourself in firm possession of his house, his property, his followers and his estates." In this manner, every one went to the room, and killed that relation of his who was on bad terms with him, and made himself master of his house, cattle, riches, and domestics. Thus, in one single night, they (Suhandí and Chach) made all their troublesome opponents the food of the blood-thirsty sword, and their heart was at ease in regard to their enemies. No competitor now remained in the kingdom to claim the inheritance.

Chach son of Selâij ascends the throne.

After the friendly followers and dependents were thus pledged, and after the poorer chiefs did the bloody work of the sword, they ranged themselves in a line in front of the palace, and stood there ready with their

arms. All the merchants and the artisans, the plebians and the nobles (were also) brought by them, and the royal throne was well adorned. Then queen Suhandi came behind a curtain, and sent the following message to them through wazir Budhiman: "Speak to the peers and nobles of the State and convey to them the wishes of their sovereign. Tell them that, though His Majesty is much better and his illness is fast disappearing, still owing to the shock caused by (the recent) vindictive disturbance, he is unable to come to the public audience hall, and the affairs of the people, high and low, rich and poor, who have not received justice, will remain pending. He is therefore pleased to appoint the Chamberlain Chach, in his life-time, as his vicegerent to carry on the administration in his name, so that no mischief may find its way into the country, owing to injustice done to the people, whose destinies have been committed to his care by the Creator." (Hearing these words), all those who were present bent low respectfully and rubbed their heads on the ground, and said with one voice: "We are ready to obey the command of the king. The Chamberlain Chach is in every way qualified for such a great office, and possesses many good qualities and virtues, as he has already put the State affairs on a firm footing." Then queen Suhandí Devi presented costly dresses of honour, adorned with ornaments inlaid with jewels, to a thousand of her faithful dependents and friends, who were among the heads of tribes and leaders of armies. At the same time, she placed the crown of the country on the head of Chach, and seated him on the throne. The whole assemblage felt much gratified, and bound themselves to do the service required of them. She then ordered the wazir to be elected anew for the same post, and the chief officers were encouraged in their faithful service with plenty of rewards. New orders about the grant of estates were (also) passed in favour of several nobles. And thus the whole kingdom rested entirely on Chach for its administration.*

Six months elapsed in this manner. After that period, the news of Rai Sáhasi's death coming to the ear of his

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* According to the Tuhfatulkirám, with the death of Rai Sahasi, the dynasty of the Rais ended after a reign of 137 years, and with the accession of Chach to the throne that of the Brahmans came into power.

brother Maharat, the king of Chitor, the latter prepared an expedition, and with a large army and followers, and furious elephants, and brave warriors, marched out to fight with Chach. He encamped within a league of Alor, and sent a number of his private servants and favourite domestics to Chach with the following message:—"I am the rightful heir to this kingdom, and this country is the property of my fathers and grandfathers. It is but right that I should have for my own my brother's heritage: to you that same post of chamberlain and lieutenant will be awarded, and every endeavour will be made to treat you liberally."*

Chach fights with Maharat and kills him by a strategem.

Thereupon, Chach came to the queen and said:—"This enemy is come to the door of the house and claims the kingdom and the inheritance; what is your counsel"? Rai Sahasi's wife laughed and said:—"I am a woman, living behind a curtain. If I am to go and fight, put on my clothes and sit here, and give me your garment that I may go forth (to battle). Have you not heard what the wise men have said, (namely) that when a person is elevated to a responsible post, he conducts it efficiently and ably, only when he acquires the skill and intelligence required for it. When the kingdom has fallen to your lot, what for do you require my advice? Gird up your loins and spring up like a roaring lion. Advance like a hero to the fight, and endeavour to defeat your foe. For death with honour and glory is better than living despised by an equal. Verse—You have elephants as well as armies; you have horses as well as followers. Put confusion into the ranks of your enemy and step forth like a man."

Chach was shamed by this her reply; and wearing weapons of war, and drawing up his army in a line, he faced the enemy. He also brought out of prison those of the (adverse) party who still remained there, gave them rewards and encouraging promises for the future, and advanced to meet the enemy. The king Maharat divided his army into the centre, the right wing, the left wing, the advance guard and the rear guard. (Then) valiant warriors from both armies met in fight, till a large number

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* According to the Tuhfatulkiram, this message was sent to Chach by Maharat from Jesalmir and then the latter proceeded to the vicinity of Alor, where Chach met him.

on each side was killed. When the king Maharat saw that brave soldiers on both sides had been mowed down by the blood-thirsty sword, he addressed Chach in the following words: "I and you are the only two rivals for the kingdom; let us fight with each other, and let him who survives have the kingdom." Chach confronted him and said: "I am a man of the Brahmin class and am unable to fight on horseback. Fight me (therefore) on foot and lay my head low, if you can." The king of Chitor had complete confidence in his own bravery and strength. He thought within himself: "How can a Brahmin dare to measure arms with me in battle? I will pick up his head like a bird and tear it from his body." He immediately dismounted and advanced on foot. Chach also came down from his horse and instructed his stirrup-holder to bring up the horse behind him. When the two came almost to close quarters with each other, Chach jumped upon his horse, made a sudden attack on him and with one blow severed the head of king Maharat from his body. (Seeing this), the army of Chach made an assault on the opposite army of Chitor. and (that army) took to flight. Some of them, seeing the king Maharat slain, asked for quarter and surrendered themselves, and some were put to the sword. Chach returned to the fort of Alor with joy and victory.* He ordered triumphal arches to be raised in the city, and he sat on the royal throne, and ordered public feasts to be given, and formed a fresh band of warriors. No stubborn rebel now remained in any of the four divisions of his country.

The marriage of Chach with queen Suhandi.

The author of this narrative and the writer of this fragrant book states as follows:— When that victory was gained, queen Suhandi ordered the chief men and nobles of the city to be called together, and when they all met, she said to them: "As king Sahasi is dead, and I have by him no issue to inherit the country, and as the kingdom has devolved on king Chach, you must give me away to Chach with proper matrimonial ceremonies and a distinct settlement." The chiefs and nobles agreed to the proposal, and they all came to the royal palace and married queen

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám, this event took place in the first year of the Hijrah or the Mussalman era, equivalent to 622 A. D.

Suhandi to Chach.* (In course of time), Chach had two sons by her: one was named Dáhar and the other Daharsiah. He had also one daughter whom he called Bai.† At their respective births, astrologers consulted the predominant star of their nativity, and by desire of the king cast their horoscopes, and inscribed the position of the several planets in the different constellations under the influence of the ascendant star, and marked out the beneficent and malignant aspects of the stars and their ascent and descent. They declared that both the sons would become kings, and, for a time, would have the entire kingdom of Sind in their possession. Their forecast as to the daughter was that she would not have to go out of the capital to any other place, and that whoever became her husband would become the sovereign and would rule over the length and breadth of the kingdom of Sind, and live on the fat of the land. When the astrologers thus foretold the fortunes of the princess, the king enjoined them to keep the forecast a secret and not to disclose it to anyone.

Chach brings his brother.

Chach now resolved to appoint his brother Chandra‡ his deputy at the city of Alor. So he sent a trustworthy person to him with the following message:—"Our nearest relations are ascetics, and have always been faithful worshippers of idols in their temples. Their custom of worshipping fire and devotion to God are widely known. Our father Seláij acts on the saying,—"But we saw our fathers doing the same," § and this is approved by all our learned men and philosophers. But it is so written in the books of Hind, that, whenever a person, who has trained his soul to abstinence and austerity, dies, his soul, on its separation from the body, and, in return for his good deeds, transmigrates to the child of a king or a great man, in whose

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* From the Tárikh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám, it will appear that the marriage of Chach with the queen took place before the battle with the Ráná of Chitór.

† In the Ubauro Taluka, there are even now women who are simply called Bai.

‡ The name is written here as Jandra. I write it Chandra.

§ The first few words of a quotation from the Koran (Chap. 26, Part 19). It is an answer given by Abraham's father to him to meet his arguments against idolatry.

body it enjoys perfect rest owing to (the presence of) creature comforts and the affluence of fortune. And the God of Selaij has given us sovereignty this time, and a spacious empire has come under my command. Now my judgment demands that I should appoint you as my agent or vicegerent in the city of Alor and make you my heir-apparent. You can assist in the administration of the country by practising religiousness, faithfulness, abstinence and piety here also." Although Chandra showed great reluctance, he was ultimately brought and appointed to the royal court. The entire administration of Alor was absolutely left in his hands by Chach, who entrusted also to his care his own private as well as State affairs.

The royal mandate regarding the regency set forth.

(When appointing Chandra to the new post), Chach told him : " When the God of Soláij has made us worthy of the crown and the throne, and has destined us for rulers of a nation, it is incumbent on us to endeavour, in the highest degree, to treat kindly the innumerable subjects under our sway, who are a trust (committed to our care) by the Creator, and to keep them contented and happy by administering justice and equity in such a manner that the strong should not oppress the weak, and we might not be reprehended in the august court of God for lack of judgment or denial of redress. My brother Chandra, the crown of all the ascetics, is hereby appointed to this great and delicate office, and he is directed to carry it on whether we are present or absent, and all the people, nobles, commons, and soldiers should render him obedience and in no way deviate from his commands or his guidance."

Chach asks wazir Budhiman about the extent of his kingdom.

Then Chach called the Tákí* wazir Budhiman, and questioned him about the limits of the kingdom of Sahiras. " O able wazir and wise counsellor," said he, "do you know what the boundaries of the country of Sind were when it was under the rule and sway of the senior Rai Sahasi? What are those four divisions which formed its limits in every direction? Give us all the information you have about them, so that I may go to

* The reader has already seen in a note from the Tuhfatulkirám that Tak is one of the 3 aboriginal tribes. In one copy, I find " Brahmin " written for " Budhiman " throughout the book.

those limits, and ascertain whether the people there are disposed to be obedient or adverse to me, and, if anyone is refractory or disobedient, I may take measures to remove him, and see that all bring their heads under my yoke, and no opponent or rebel finds his way into my kingdom, or sets my authority at naught."

Wazir Budhiman gives an account of the boundaries of the territorial possessions of Rai Sahasi.

Wazir Budhiman bowed his head to the ground and said: "Long life to king Chach! May it be known to him that this metropolis and the whole kingdom were under the dominion of one king, and his chieftains were obedient and submissive to him, and were always attentive to his orders, and ready to do his bidding. When this kingdom came into the hands of Sahiras son of the senior Rai Sahasi, who was a son of Dewáij, and he was defeated and killed by the army of Fars, the kingdom devolved upon Sáhasi, (the younger,) and he appointed each of the four chiefs to each of the four divisions, in order that they might try their best to collect the revenue for the treasury, and to protect the country. Now that Your Majesty is anxious on this point, and wishes this anxiety to be removed from his mind, the only sirable and final arrangement necessary seems to be to prevent the very POSSIBILITY of any unpleasant occurrence. For, otherwise, owing to the vicissitudes of time, such a terrible disaster might take place as could not easily be suppressed. When (by these precautionary measures) the government of the country is firmly established, and Your Majesty's heart is at rest, the chiefs of the different divisions, and the kings of the bordering provinces would be favourably inclined to you and render service to you. It is certain that, when by means of a brave army and furious elephants, tranquillity and stability are secured, God, the great cause of causes, will enable you to achieve victory and success, and to overcome your enemies and opponents. I am sanguine that the great God will strengthen the members and quarters of the kingdom; that all the four tributary rulers wil place the chain of subjection on their necks; that all disorders will cease; that all the opponents will, from fear and awe of the sharp and well-tempered sword of Your Majesty, bring their heads to the halter of submission, and that this great and extensive kingdom that you have acquired with

renown will abide with you to all eternity, and each day see its expansion. The king should, under all circumstances, fix his assiduous attention and desire on that end, and place full trust in the decrees of the Almighty, in order that He, with His august will and wisdom, may fulfil his wishes and realise his hopes."

Chach comes to the limits of the territories of Alor and marks out the boundary line.

Chach heard this discourse of the wazir Budhiman attentively, and what the wazir said, made an impression on his mind and produced comfort and joy in his heart. He praised him highly for his counsels and took his gladdening communication as a happy omen, and hastened to act accordingly. He sent trustworthy men to different directions and called upon the rulers of divisions to join him in his undertaking, which was to lead an army up to the limits of Hindustan, where it adjoined the country of the Tartars. Then, at an auspicious time, found out by astrologers after carefully consulting the stars, he gave marching orders. After doing many a day's journey and passing several stages, he arrived at the fortified town of Babiah,* which is situated on the southern bank of the river Beas. The governor of that fort commenced hostilities with him. (But) after a great and bloody battle the ruler of Babiah fled, and threw himself into the fort, and Rai Chach was the victor. He made a halt there, (laying siege to the fort,) for some time, during which corn became scarce, and the cutting of crops, grass and firewood impossible. When the people in the fort were reduced to this strait, the ruler of the place, one night, after the world had put on the black garment of night, and the king of stars had gone behind the dark curtain of night, left that fort, and went to that of Iskandah, and encamped in the suburbs of that town. This fortified town, too, belonged to him, and it was stronger than the first. When he bivouaced on a meadow attached to the town, he sent some men to gather information from the enemy's camp. A spy soon came back and said that Chach had enterd into the fort of Bábiah and was staying there.

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* In some copies, this name is written Payah, but this is wrong, as the correct name Babiah comes in many places about the close of the book. There is but little difference between the names as they are written in Persian.

When Chach learnt that the ruler of Babiah had gone to the fort of Iskandah, he appointed an upright man out of the noblesof the country to be in charge of the fort, and himself started in the direction of Iskandah, and fixed his camp in the outskirts of that town. Now, there was a bravo chief in the fort of Iskandah, who had always been obedient and well disposed to Chach. He had great influence over the residents of the fort, both nobles and plebians, who always acted under his guidance and never went against his wishes. Chach sent a messenger to him, and offered to make him sole governor of the fort, and directed a royal order to be inscribed, containing a solemn promise to bestow the governorship on him, and also to hand over Bábiah to him, as soon as he killed Jetar (or Chitra), the king of Bábiah, or took him prisoner. The chief accepted the promise and the condition, and sent his son as a hostage to Chach. Then he took to visiting the ruler of Bábiah so frequently, that he was never prevented from going to his presence either by night or by day. All of a sudden, one night, finding a favourable opportunity, he killed king Jetar and sent his head to Chach. Rai Chach showed him great favour, and granted him a robe of honour, with many other presents, and ordered the castle to be entrusted to him as its govérnor. Then all the nobles and chiefs of the town came to his presence, and delivered into his treasury many rich offerings. The king honoured them by receiving them well, and giving them an audience. He instructed and enjoined them to look upon the brave chief as their governor, and to consider it their duty to obey him, and never to contravene his behests.

Chach goes to the fortified town of Iskandah.

After settling the affairs of Iskandah, Rai Chach moved in the direction of Sikkah and Multan. In Multan, there was a prince by name Bachhera,* who was a near relation of Sahasi, and ruled over an extensive kingdom, and was a man of great ability. When he received the news of Chach's arrival, he collected a large army, and came to the banks of the Rávi. His nephew Sabhól (or Sahewal) was the governor of the fortified town of

Chach moves towards Sikkah and Multan.

* In one copy, this name is written Bajerai.

Sikkah, opposite Multan, towards the east, and he with Bachhera's cousin Ajaisen advanced with overwhelming numbers to meet Chach. Chach stationed himself at a ford on the Beás, and remained there for three months, till the floods subsided and the water went down. He then selected a village a little above his encampment, where there was no obstruction, and crossing the river, came to the town of Sikkah and met Sabhol in battle. He then invested the fort for some days, and when (its defenders) were pressed hard, and several of their brave comrades were killed and numberless kafirs went to hell, Sabhol quietly withdrew and went to the fortified town of Multan, and stood on the bank of the Ravi, equipped with the weapons of war and ready to fight. Chach Rai took possession of the fort (of Sikkah), and killed 5,000 warlike men who were in it, and made the other residents of the town prisoners, and secured a large booty and a great number of slaves. Chach appointed the greatest of the nobles of the State to be temporarily in charge of the fort of Sikkah, and himself crossed over to Multan. There, the two armies met. King Bachhera came to the field with a numerous army, warlike elephants and brave soldiers, and confronted Chach There was a great deal of hard fighting, and there was much bloodshed on both sides. Then Bachhera sought the fort, and sent letters to the king of Kashmir, informing him about Chach. "Chach son of Seláij Brahman," wrote he, "has become the king of Alor, and has come with a large army. He has taken absolute possession of several forts, and we are unable to oppose him. He has brought many impregnable fortresses under his command, and no ruler has been successful in fighting with him. He has (now) come as far as Multan. (In this emergency) it is due to yourself that you should assist us, and send an auxiliary force to the border."

The messenger returns unsuccessful and disappointed from Kashmir.

Before the messenger arrived at Kashmir, the king of that place had died, and his son, a minor, had succeeded to the throne. The ministers, the counsellors, the courtiers, the nobles and chief men of the State thought over the matter and gave the following politic reply to the above letter. "The king (Rái) of Kashmir has gone to his permanent abode, and his son is a child

yet, of tender years, and an inexperienced prince. His own soldiery are rising in mutiny and revolt in different parts of his country; and the affairs of these parts should be first set straight. At such a juncture (therefore), we cannot afford to help you or furnish you with the means of assistance. You must help yourself, as best you can."

When the messenger returned, and Bachhera received this news, he despaired of getting any aid from the king of Kashmir, and sued Rai Chach for peace, with solemn promises and covenants, and prayed for an assurance of protection in writing, in order that, quitting the fort in safety, he might proceed without being molested by any one, with all his followers, dependents, and adherents, to a place of refuge. Chach agreed to this proposal, and gave him the assurance of protection asked for. Bachhera (then) came out of the fort, and with his followers and dependents proceeded to the mountains of Kashmir. Chach occupied the fort, and became absolute master of the country.

Chach appoints a vicegerent at the fort of Multan, and himself marches onward.

When the fort of Multan was taken, Chach appointed a Thakur* as his lieutenant there, and he himself went to an idol temple, which stood in a retired and solitary place, prostrated himself before the idol, offered sacrifices, and then proceeded on his forward journey. The govenors of Brahmapur, Karúr and Ashahar paid their homage to him, and from these places he came to the borders of Kíh (or Kumba) and Kashmir. During the whole of this journey, no king opposed him or put any obstacle or impediment in his way. So true is it that, whenever the Great King (of the Universe) makes a man great, He makes all his difficult undertakings easy for him and gratifies all his desires. Every place where he arrived surrendered to him, and (thus victorious) he reached the fort of Shakalhar, higher up the town of Kíh (or Kumba), which is said to be the boundary of Kashmir, and where he stayed for a month. (During that period), some of the rulers of

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* Means a Rajput Chief.

the surrounding region were coerced into submission, while others voluntarily paid homage to him and tendered their allegiance. He imposed definitive compacts on the nobles and rulers of those parts, and the stability of the kingdom was completely secured. He then ordered two young plants to be brought; one a *maisir*, or white poplar, and the other a *deodar*, or fir tree. He planted both of them on the boundary of Kashmir upon the banks of a stream called the Panj Máhiyát,* which is close to the hills of Kashmir, and takes its origin from the springs of that mountainous region. He remained there till the branches of the two trees interspersed with each other. Then he bade farewell to the spot, and declared: "This is the boundary line between us and the Rai of Kashmir, and there will be no passage beyond it."

Chach returns after fixing the boundary on the borders of Kashmir.

The recorder of this conquest states that, when the eastern boundary was fixed, Chach returned from there and came to the capital city of Alór. He stayed there for a period of one year, and rested from the fatigues of the journey, and his chiefs collected a large number of the appliances and weapons of war. Then he told the wazir: "My heart is free from anxiety in regard to the eastern boundary; now we ought to acquaint ourselves with the south." The wazir said: "Indeed, one of the best habits of kings is that they should constantly enquire about the affairs of their country. It is possible that, owing to your long absence in the upper divisions, the nobles and rulers of those (southern) parts may have a haughty notion in their heads that, after Rai Sahasi, there is no one to exact revenue from them. Truly transgression and disorder have found their way there."

Then, in an auspicious hour, Chach started for the fortified towns of Mudapur (or Budhápur) and Siwistán. In the fort of Siwistan, there was a governor whose name was Mattah. Chach, with a firm resolution, crossed the waters of the Mehrán at a village called Wahtáet (or Diháyat), which forms the boundary between Sammah and Alor. From there, he proceeded towards Budhiah. The ruler of this latter place, at that time, was Basar Kotad son of Bandar Kóbhkó, and his capital town was

* I think this is wrong; the correct name is Panj Náhiyát. The name comes again about the close of the book, where it is correctly given. A note about its derivation will be found there.

Kákáráj. The natives of those parts called it Siwís (or Sawis). Chach marched against them and conquered the fort of Siwis. Kátah (or Kaba) son of Kákah came forth and asked protection for his father* and his followers. They imposed a tribute upon themselves and they all submitted.

The army goes to Siwistan.

From that place, Chach marched towards Siwistán. When he approached that city, Mattah, the Governor, advanced with great pomp and large numbers and gave him battle, in which Chach was victorious. Mattah fled with his forces and shut himself up in the fort. Chach laid siege to it and stood ready to fight. After a week, the garrison became dispirited and asked for quarter, and on receiving a solemn promise (of safety), they came forth and handed over the keys of the castle to the officers of Chach, who gave them protection and showed kindness to them. He entrusted the rulership of the place to Mattah, and appointed a superintendent (*Shahnah*) out of his own confidential men (to represent his interests at the place). He stayed there for a few days, till the affairs of that part of the country were satisfactorily settled, and peace was re-established in that town.

Chach sends a messenger to Agham Lúhánah at Brahmanabad.

When the affairs of Siwistan were completely put in order, he sent a mandate to Agham Lúhánah the Prince of Brahmanabad, that is to say, the ruler of (the tribes of) Lákhah, Sammah and Sahtah, calling upon him to submit to him. After a few days, some guards whom he had placed on the high roads in the direction of Makrán happened to seize a man, bearing letters of Agham addressed to Mattah, the ruler of Siwistán, the purport of which was shortly this :—" I have always behaved towards you as a friend and well-wisher, and have, on no occasion, acted against you or quarrelled with you. I acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you sent to me by way of friendship. You honoured me therein by the assurance that, as long as our union and friendship lasts, no enemy will approach us. I am ready to do your behests, and to carry out completely every one of your orders. You are a

* The ruler is said to have been Basarkotad. Basar can also be read as *Pisar*, or son of Kotad. Who then was Kótah or Kóba son of Kákah, and what had his father to do with the fort? The copyists have made a mess of the proper names and hence this is not intelligible.

king and the son of a king. There exists perfect harmony between us and you. Misfortunes like these have befallen many persons and compelled them to seek refuge. You are at liberty to fix your residence at any town you choose in the territories dependent on Brahmanábád, down to the sea, and to Debal. And if you intend to go somewhere else, none will obstruct you or molest you. I shall be helping you till you are safely settled somewhere. I possess sufficient troops and followers to be able to assist you." But Mattah preferred going in the direction of Hind to the kingdom of Nirmal, called Bhattí (or Bhetti).

Chach sends a mandate to Agham Lúhánah calling upon him to submit.

Then Rái Chach sent the following letter to Agham Lúhánah:—"You consider yourselves kings of the time, from your power and grandeur, origin and lineage. Though I have not inherited this kingdom and sovereignty, and this wealth and affluence, this power and dignity, from my father and grandfather, and though this country has not been ours before, still my elevation and my improved fortunes are due to the grace of God. It was not by my army that I won them, but the One God, the Peerless, the Incomparable, the Creator of the world, has given me the kingdom by the blessing of Selaij*; and it is from him that I receive help in every thing. I do not depend upon any other person for assistance. He is the Accomplisher of my undertakings and the Giver of help in all my movements. He is the Bestower of victory and success in all contests and oppositions. We have been graciously favoured with the blessings of both the worlds. If (you think) your power and prestige are the creation of your own bravery, courage, resources, and splendour, then, without doubt, your fortunes will decay, and the vengeance of death is but the legitimate due of your soul."

Chach comes to the town of Brahmanabad and fights with Agham Luhanah.

Then Rai Chach marched against Agham Lúhánah. Agham had gone from Brahmanabad on a tour in his territories. When he heard of Chach's coming, he returned to Brahmanabad, and began to collect soldiers and arms. When Rái Chach arrived at Brahmanabad, Agham, ready for battle, came forth

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* Here Chach would appear to be a firm monothiest and not an idol-worshipping or fire-worshipping Brahmin, as represented above.

to meet him. After several renowned warriors were killed on both sides, Agham's army was put to flight, and he betook himself to the fort. Chach laid siege to it. For a period of one year this warfare went on between them. During that period the king of Hindustán, that is, Kanúj, was Sayár (or Satbár) son of Ráil Rái (or Rásal Rái). Agham sent letters to him, applying for assistance But before the reply came, Agham died, and his son succeeded him. Agham had a monkish friend, whose name was Samani Budhgui (or Budh Rakhú), that is, one protected by Budha. He was supposed to bear a charmed life. He owned an idol-house or temple, which was called Budh Nawwihár.* It contained several idols. He was the chief monk of the place, and was well known for his devotion and piety, and all the people of that part of the country obeyed him. Agham professed his faith, and had taken him as his spiritual guide ‡

When Agham betook himself to the fort, the Samaní† co-operated with him, but did not join in the fight. He was busy reading his books in his temple. When Prince Agham died, and his son was established in the government of the country, the Samaní became anxious and afraid lest the principalities, property and estates should pass away from his (the Samaní's) hands. In that perplexity, he consulted his books in order to ascertain the decree of fate, and he learnt that the kingdom was destined to fall into the hands of Chach, whether he himself was favourably inclined towards Chach or not. Agham's son (eventually) was sore pressed, and his army withdrew from the fight, and the fort fell into the hands of Chach, who kept a strong hold on it.

Chach's resolution in regard to the Samani.

When Chach had come to know that Agham and his son had a compact with the Samani, and that it was owing to his sorcery, enchantments, magic and counsels, that the war had been prolonged for a year, he had sworn: "If I succeed in taking this fort, I shall seize the Samaní, take off his skin, give it to low-caste people to cover drums with it and to beat them till it was torn to

* In some copies, written as Nobhár or Naobahár.

† Sanskrit *Shrámana*.

‡ *Literally*, pole star.

pieces." When the Samani had received information of this oath, he had laughed and said: "It will never be within the power of Chach to destroy me" When, after a time, the garrison in the fort of Brahmanabad, after battling hard and losing a large number of men, stopped fighting, sued for peace and asked for quarter, peace was made through the intervention of chiefs and heads of tribes between the two parties, and the fort was given up to Chach. Chach entered it and told them: "If you wish to go away, no living creature will oppose or prevent you; but if you make up your minds to stay here, then stay by all means." When Agham's son and dependents found him favourably inclined towards them, they preferred dwelling there. Chach remained in the town for some time in order to ascertain their disposition.

Chach marries Agham's widow and gives the hand of his own niece to Agham's son Sarhand.

(During his stay at Brahmanabad), Chach sent for the mother of Sarhand (Agham's widow). He made her his own wife, and gave the hand of the daughter of his nephew Dáhiyah (or Dharsiah) to Agham's son, and bestowed many-coloured robes on him. He remained there for one year, and appointed officers to collect Government dues, and brought the chiefs of those parts into complete subjection to himself. He then enquired where that sorceror Samani was, in order to see him. He was informed that he was a monk and lived with other monks. "He is," it was said, "one of the philosophers of Hind, and is the keeper of the Nawwihár* temple. He is considered by the Samanis as having attained sublimity and perfection. In magic and enchantments, he is so clever that he has subdued a world of men and made them submit to his will. By means of his talismans, he can provide himself with all he wants. He has for many days co-operated wi h Sarhand, owing to his friendship with his father; and it was by his encouragement and support that the forces of Brahmanabad carried on such an obstinate and protracted war."

Chach goes to visit Samani and makes enquiries about his circumstances.

Chach then called all his armed men, and gave them the following instructions:—"I shall converse with him (the Samaní). (But) when I have done speaking and look towards you, you should draw your swords and

* In some copies the name of this same temple is written as Kandhár or Kanwihár.

sever his head from his body." He then came to Budh Kanwihar and repaired to him. He found him sitting on a chair busily engaged in prayers, and with some hard clay in his hands with which he was making idols. He fixed a sort of seal on the idol, and the image of Budh appeared on it. The idol being now complete, he placed it on one side. Chach stood above him, but the Samani paid him no attention. After some time, when he finished all his idols, he turned up his head and said: "The son of the ascetic Seláij is come!" "Even so, O priestly Samani," answered Chach. "What business has brought you here?" asked the Samaní. "I came to know of your fidelity," replied Chach, "and so I came to see you." "Come down," said the monk. Chach came down. The Samaní spread a handful of straw and made Chach sit on it. Then he asked him, "O Chach, what do you want?" Chach answered, "I want you to become my friend and to come back to the fort of Brahmanabad, so that I may put you in charge of a high office, and entrust you with important affairs and responsible duties. You will be there with Sarhand,* and you may co-operate with him by giving him (the benefit of) your counsels and your judgment." The monk said "I have no need of your kingdom. I do not feel inclined to have any civil employment, and I do not wish to have anything to do with worldly affairs." "Why did you leave the fort of Brahmanabad?" asked Chach. "When Agham Lúhạnah died," said the monk, "and this boy, his son, gave way to grief, owing to the loss of his father, I admonished him to have patience, and I have been praying to God most sincerely that he may bring about peace and friendship between both the parties." "For me," continued the Samaní, "the service of Budh and the seeking of salvation in the next world are better than all worldly employments. As, however, you are the sovereign of this kingdom, I will at your supreme command shift to the vicinity of the fort, although I fear that the people dwelling in the fort would cause injury and mischief to the sown fields of Budh. To-day, Chach is a great and wealthy personage." Chach said: "The worship of Budh is an excellent thing, and it is right to hold it in honour. But if you want anything, or if you have any request

* This is the name of Agham's son as mentioned in the heading of a previous paragraph.

to make, speak that I may at once grant it and thereby secure (for myself) happiness and honour." The monk (*násik*) said: "I do not want any worldly thing, nor have I any worldly request to make. May God graciously incline you to the affairs of the next world." Chach said: "That is exactly my request, and I wish to do a deed which should have spiritual advancement and salvation as its reward. Tell me of it, and I will render my assistance and be your helpmate." The Samaní said: "As you are determined to do some charitable act and add (to your) good deeds, (know that) the temple of Budh Nawwhár here is an ancient religious institution. For some time past, owing to the vicissitudes of time, some parts of the structure have suffered injury. It should, therefore, be built anew, and you should spend your own funds in laying a fresh foundation. In this matter alone can I implore your help." Chach said: "I am highly obliged to you."

Chach returns to Brahmanabad.

Chach then rode back from that place (to Brahmanabad. On his arrival), the wazir observed, "O king, I have witnessed a wonder." "And what is that?" asked the king. The wazir replied: "Your Majesty went with a firm resolution to direct your swordsmen to kill the monk. When, however, you went to his presence, you sought to please him and complied with his request." "It is even so," said Chach; "I saw something in which there was no magic or jugglery. I observed attentively, but I could see no signs of it. When I sat down by him, I saw a horrible and ghastly apparition standing at my (or his) head. Its eyes were fiery and full of anger, its lips thick and its teeth pointed like spears. It had rods in its hands, sharp and piercing like a diamond, (and it waved them), as if it was about to strike some person with them. I saw it and felt afraid, and I dared not speak to it so as to be heard by you. I pondered within myself for a while, and I looked at it attentively and then left."

Chach stays at Brahmanabad and fixes the revenue.

Chach then stayed at the fort of Brahmanabad till all the affairs of that country were settled, the dues of the Treasury fixed, and the welfare of his subjects was assured. He degraded the Jats and the Luhanahs and bound over their chiefs. He took a hostage from them, and confined him in the fort of Brahmanabad. He imposed the following terms on these people, (the Jats and

the Lúhánahs), namely, that they should not carry swords, except on occasions of urgent necessity; that their under-garment should be of some woollen cloth; that they should not wear velvet or silken cloth; that they might use scarfs of cotton thread, of black or red colour; that they must ride horses without saddles; that they must walk about bare-headed and bare-footed; that, when going out of their houses, they must take dogs with them; that they must supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad; that they must serve him in the capacity of guides and spies; that, if they distinguished themselves for these qualities, they would be considered trustworthy and honest; that they must live in harmony and co-operate with king Agham's son Sarhand; and that, if an enemy invaded the country, they should consider it their duty to stand by him and fight for him. In this way, Chach brought his affairs to a consummation and his sovereignty was (fully) established. If any person proved himself to be refractory, haughty or perverse, he compelled him to give solid security. In the case of some men of this class, he had recourse to another policy, *viz.*, that he appointed them to some respectable posts. Thus, everything was ultimately set right.

Rai Chach moves towards Kirmán and marks out the boundaries of Makran.

When Chach had settled these affairs, the thought about the boundaries of Kirmán became uppermost in his mind. That part of the country was contiguous to the territories of the princes of Hind, and he wanted to define its limits. It was then the second year after the flight of our august lord Muhammad, the prophet of God, on whom and on whose descendants be the blessings of God.* After the death of Kasrá son of Hurmuz, the king of Párs or Fárs (Persia), the management (of the) affairs of the kingdom had come into the hands of a woman.† When Chach learnt of this state of things, he started with a large army for the territories of

* That is the second year of the Hijrah, or the Muhammadan era, which was calculated from the flight of Muhammad from Meccá to Medíná, under the orders of the 2nd Khalíf, Umar, and which is equivalent to 622 A. D.

† Kasrá son of Hurmuz was Khusró Parwíz, whose love for Shírín is sung by the poet Nizámí and other Persian writers. He was killed by his son Kobád, known as Sheroyah, who died after a reign of 6 months. Kobád was succeeded by his son Ardshír who was killed after a reign of a year and a half. Ardshír was succeeded by Khusró Parwíz's son Jawán Shír. He died after one year, and was succeeded by his eldest sister Túrándukht. She reigned for one year and four months,

Kirmán. At an auspicious hour, discovered by the astrologers, he marched in the direction of Armanbel.* That town was then in the hands of a Buddhist Samaní descended from the Agents of Rái Sahiras, king of Hind, whom the Rái had elevated for their loyalty and devotion. In course of time, however, he had thrown off his yoke and had become his opponent. (This ruler) now came forth to receive Rái Chach. As his promises of fidelity and his cordial behaviour made a good impression on Chach's mind, friendship and amity were firmly established between the two. Chach proceeded thence to the district of Makrán. Whosoever he encountered submitted to him. When he went beyond the steep declivity and the hills of Makrán, he found himself in the division of Bakr. There was an ancient fort in that town, called Kanbar (or Kang or Kanarpur or Kinarpur). He took possession of it, and ordered it to be reconstructed. He also arranged that, according to the established Indian custom, kettle-drums should be beaten and other musical instruments sounded at the approach of evening and the break of day in the fort; that is to say, the sound of kettle drums was to be accompanied by that of a musical instrument. He collected the people of the surrounding villages, and employed them in re-building the fort. Then he left the place and came to Kirmán. There is a small river running between Kirmán and Makrán. He encamped there, and marked out the eastern boundary line, by declaring that certain date trees growing there defined the limit between Kirmán and Makrán. Further, he planted a grove of date trees in a place on the banks of the stream, and branded into them the words:—"This is the boundary that existed in the days of Chach son of Seláij, son of Bisás,† the king of Sind, and this day it came into our possession."

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and was succeeded by her younger sister A'zaríndukht, who was murdered after 4 months. It was in the reign of Túrándukht that the prophet Muhammad died, and that was the eleventh year of the Hijrah (A.D. 632). So there is surely some mistake in the text, where it is stated that in the second year of the Hijrah, Kasrá was succeeded by a female ruler of the kingdom of Persia. Besides, it is related above that Chach's fight with Ráná Maharat of Chitór took place in the first year of the Hijrah. So all the succeeding events, as related in the book, could not have occurred in the course of the next year. It is possible that *du* (two) is a mistake for *dah* (ten) by the Persian writers, or the copyists of the book.

* Written here Armáil and lower down Armanbelah.* It seems to be the town of Belah of Lus Belah.

† For the first time, we learn this name of Chach's grandfather.

From there, Chach returned to Armanbel, and passing through the district of Túrán,* he came into the desert, and no one dared to fight with him, till he arrived at Kandáíl (or Kandhábel), otherwise called Kandhár. From the valley extending to the open plain in the out-skirts of that place, Chach prepared to make a sudden assault on the city, but the people had already sheltered themselves in the fort. When he came to the river Siní (or Samní), he encamped there, until the people were reduced to straits, and fixed on themselves an annual tribute of 100 hill ponies and 100,000 dirams.† They gave one year's tribute then and there. A treaty was then made and Chach returned to his capital Alór, and he remained there till he bade adieu to this world.‡ His reign lasted for forty years.

Chach son of Selaij goes to Armáil and fixes a tribute on it.

After the death of Chach son of Selaij, his brother Chandar ascended the throne at the capital city of Alór. He strengthened and promulgated the religion of monks (*násik*) and hermits (*ráhib*). He brought many people together with his sword, and made them turn back to his faith. He received many letters from the chiefs of Hind.

Chandar son of Selaij ascends the throne at the capital city of Alor.

Mattah the ruler of Siwistán had gone to the king of Kanúj. In those days, the country of Hindustán was in a flourishing condition and was under a Ráná, and Kanúj was under the rule of Sahiras son of Rásil.§ Mattah went to him and said: "Chach son of Seláij is dead and his brother Chandar, a monk (*ráhib*), has succeeded him. But he is a devotee (*násik*) and spends his whole

Mattah the ruler of Siwistán goes to Kanúj.

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* Turcomania or Scythia, also called Tartary.

† Diram or Dirham is a silver coin, 20 or 25 of which are equal to a Dínár, a gold coin equal to 9 shillings. Dínár is also said to be equal to about 2¼ Rs. of our time.

‡ The words "and went to hell" do not occur in the copies consulted by us.

§ We were told above that Kanúj is the chief city of Hindustan, and that Sayar son of Railrai was the name of its king. I think Sahiras son of Rásil as written here is the correct name, and the former is a mistake.

time with other devotees (*násiks*) in his temple in the study of his religion. It will be very easy to deprive him of the kingdom. If Your Majesty takes possession of his country and hands it over to me, I will impose a tribute for those parts on myself, and send it regularly to the royal treasury." Sahiras said to Mattah: "Chach was a great king and had a spacious dominion. As he is gone (to his rest), I will take that whole country and bring it under my own rule. Thereby, my territories will be greatly extended, and I will appoint you as a governor of one of their divisions." Then Sahiras sent his brother Barhas son of Rásil (or Kasáis) to Kashmír for help. A grandson of the great Chach (by his daughter) was then the king of Kashmir and Ramal. He made a compact and joined in the undertaking, and they started with their armies, in order to invade the country of Chandar. Arriving at the rivulet Hasí (or Hashí), they encamped there. The agents and officers of Chandar who were in the fort of Dew Dhanáz (or Dew Dhanush) fled thence. The invaders appointed their own agents at the place in their stead, and they went on, stage by stage, till they arrived at Band Káhúyeh. There they stayed for a month, and busied themselves in offering prayers to Budh. At the same time, they sent a letter with a messenger to Chandar, asking him to surrender and submit and sue for his safety. When Chandar heard this, he declined to do so, and putting himself into the fort, began to prepare for war. He immediately sent Dharsiah, a son of Chach, to Brahmanábád, where all the residents of the town and the Lúhánah * came forward to receive him, and paid their respects to him; and Chandar himself with Dáhar, the younger son of Chach, took up his position in the fort of Alór and carried out measures (for its defence) with care and diligence. The army of Sahiras beseiged the fort, and continued their assaults steadily. When (however) he gained no victory over the occupants of the fort, he thought of having recourse to a strategem, and sued for an amicable settlement. His object was to bring Dáhar out (by some means), and to capture him and to kill him, for (he thought) the fort would easily fall into his hands, and his sovereignty would be firmly established, when Dáhar was secured and killed.

* Evidently, Sarband son of Agham Lúhánah, or the Lúhánah tribes, Lying in the suburbs.

(With this object in view), Rásil, Sahiras and Barhás sent an envoy to Ḍáhar (Chandar ?) to deliver the following message: "We have unanimously decided to return and we are ready to make peace with you on certain solemn conditions. Let this country remain with you as before. If Dáhar comes to visit us (in order to settle the matter personally), we will send him back (to you) quite safe and sound." Dáhar, taking 500 men selected from the centre (*lit.* heart) of the army, out of famous warriors, issued forth to settle the terms of peace and to bring about reconciliation between the two parties. To all of his chief men he said: "We have full confidence in your bravery, and courage and watchfulness." He encouraged them all and won their hearts by splendid promises. Thus, they went on till they arrived at the door of Rasil's palace. Rásil ordered them to be kept at the door. Then he called a chamberlain (*hájib*) and told him: "Go down with some trustworthy persons and swordsmen, and tell (those people at the door) that I have heard the praise of their swords, and I wish them to send up their arms that I may select one of them and keep it with me as a memento. When they give up their arms, seize their hands and capture them, or else kill them." Accordingly, the chamberlain came down upon that pretext and, standing under a portico, began to ask the men to hand over their swords. Accidentally the vault of the portico fell down and the chamberlain remained under it. King Rásil himself then descended, and called all of them to himself, and asked each to show him the weapons. He went on taking and examining the sword of each and throwing it in front of them. When he came to Dáhar son of Chach, he told him: "Show me your sword." Dáhar said: "O king, this poniard belongs to my brother; I cannot part with it. Look at it in my hands." When he came very close to Dáhar, a swordsman of Dáhar's stepped forward, and said, "O king, of all these swords, mine is the best." When Rásil went near him in order to take the sword from him, the swordsman bounded like a fierce lion, caught hold of Rásil's beard, threw him down and sat on his chest, and said, "I am going to kill you." Just then, Dáhar and his men encir-

Sahiras sends an envoy to Dáhar* (Chandar ?).

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* In Persian orthography, the letter D in Dáhar is written as ordinary d (د), but this D is the peculiar Sindhi letter D (ڊ) and so it is written in the Sindhi translation of the Tárikh Maasúmí.

cled him and drew their swords. When Rásil saw that there was no help, he said: "What do you want from me? I am ready to make a solemn promise to you, and will faithfully abide by it and never contravene it." Dáhar said: "It is evident to me that you had resolved to practise deception on us, and we can't now place any trust in your words or promises. The punishment of treachery and perfidy first fell upon your door-keeper, who died under the vault; then you became a prisoner in our hands. Now give us a hostage that you will return the fort of Dew Dhanáz (Dew Dhanush), and our hostages whom you have detained with you; then we shall return your hostages." Rásil sent his hostages to Alór. Five chief men among the nobles were detained in the fort of Alór; then Rásil was set at liberty, as he promised to do what he was asked to do. Dáhar sent the hostages to Brahmanábád. Rásil now departed with his 500 swordsmen, and he took with himself some confidential servants of Dáhar. He returned the forts (he had taken) and released the men whom he had imprisoned. When Dáhar received letters from his confidential servants, written from the forts that had now been returned to them, he sent back Rásil's hostages, giving them dresses of honour. Then, peace was concluded between them, and they became friends.

Chandar ascends the throne and succeeds to the kingdom of Chach son of Seláij.

Now the (charge of the) kingdom devolved upon Chandar, and his subjects were at ease owing to his conciliatory measures; and the business of the State was well-regulated. Chandar's reign lasted for 7 years. In the eighth year he died. Dáhar now sat on the throne of Alór and Duráj son of Chandar established himself at Brahmanábád. The reign of Duráj did not exceed one year. Then Daharsiah son of Chach put himself in possession of Brahmanábád. His sister Bái agreed to live with him, and be under his protection. Daharsiah married Agham's daughter, and remained (at Brahmanábád) for 5 years. He sent letters to the governors of different divisions of the country, and received promises of allegiance from all. Then, Daharsiah came to Raor* where

* I write it as Ráor though it may be pronounced as Ráwar.

Chach had laid the foundations of a fort, but had died before its completion. Daharsiah stayed there for some time and completed the construction of the fort.* He collected the country people of the vicinity, and with a number of respectable and well-known persons settled them there. When the place was populated he gave it the name of Ráor. Then he returned to Brahmanábád, and the affairs of the country were thoroughly settled.

He sends Bái to Alór in order that she might be given away to the king of Bátiah.

When Daharsiah came to know that his sister had reached the age of maturity, he became anxious (to see her married) as she was a grown up woman. The astrologers declared her horoscope to be an auspicious one. While he was considering (what he should do) the messengers of Sohán king of Bátiah † in the country of Ramal arrived to ask for the hand of the princess. Daharsiah, being the eldest brother, prepared a royal dowry, and sent with her 700 young horses and 500 brave Thakurs, and wrote letters to Dáhar, requesting him to give away Bái to the king of Bátiah who had stipulated that a fort should be handed over to him as her marriage portion. (Daharsiah's) messenger arrived at Alór, and remained there for about a month.

There was an astrologer, out of the wise men of Hind, who ws perfectly acquainted with many sciences. One day, a noble of the place, who had put a question to him and had got a correct answer from him, came to king Dáhar. The latter asked him: "What kept you busy to-day, that you came so late, and considered that business more important than your attendance on me." The Thakur replied: "Long life to the king! Something had happened about which my mind was very uneasy and anxious. There is a Brahman astrologer, who is a learned man and very clever in the science of the stars. He foretells events readily and correctly, and, by experience, I found his prognostications to be quite accurate." He then went into details and stated the circumstances fully.

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* The author of the Tárikh Maasúmí says that this fort was finished b Dáhar later on, after Daharsiah's death.

† Has this name any connection with the present Bhatia caste of Hindus?

Rái Dáhar said: "Go and enquire from him about our foreign and home affairs, the general aspect of the kingdom, and the business of our State." That man then rose and said: "Long live the king! Victorious and grand kings should not grudge to spend their leisure in the society of wise men, and in bestowing favours on learned men and teachers of morals and Brahmans, for they are our leaders and guides. It should be considered a bounden duty to visit them, and to reverence them. Their content leads to the increase of dignity and rank, and to the perpetuation of greatness and magnificence. It is also a good augury that, the person wishing to know about an event, should himself visit astrologers and put them questions personally and receive answers from them directly."

Dáhar goes to the astrologer in order to consult him about his sister.

Dáhar fell in with this suggestion, and ordered a litter to be put on (his) elephant. He sat (in the howdah), and came to the astrologer's house. When the astrologer saw the king, he came forward to receive him, and said: "May the king live long! On what business has he come?" Dáhar said: "We have a question to put in connection with some military affairs which we want to take in hand, and we want you (also) to prognosticate the final issue of some State affairs, laws and statutes of the kingdom, and many other matters of importance." The astrologer said: "All the auspicious stars are gazing at the rising star of your good fortune. There is no sinister quadrangular aspect of stars, nor any ominous aspect in the opposite quarter. This fort and this kingdom are allotted to you for several years and will remain in your possession. If your majesty happens to go on a journey, it will prove to be fortunate, and your majesty will return safe and happy to the throne of glory." Then the king asked: "What do the stars say about my sister Bái's fortune"; and the astrologer replied: "My calculations lead to the inference that she shall never go out of this fort of Alór and that no one shall be married to her except the king, who shall have the kingdom of Hindustán under his sway and dominion: this girl shall be united to *him* by the tie of marriage." When the astrologer explained this matter to him, Dáhar became sunk in thought as to how that would come to pass. He

returned home, and disclosed everything to Budhiman the Tákí Wazír, who was the prime minister of his father.

Wazír Budhiman's advice.

The wazir said to Dáhar: "The administration of a large kingdom is a delicate matter; and for a king of (many) regions and institutions and armies and servants, to cut off his connection with his kingdom is an affair of pith and moment. *Illustration.*—There are five things, which, when they shift from their proper places, have a sorry look, *viz.*, 1st a king (when shifted) from his kingdom; 2nd a minister from his ministership; 3rd a (learned) spiritual guide from his disciples; 4th hair and teeth (from their original positions); and 5th the breasts of women (from their position in youth). When these move beyond their proper places, they cease to be graceful. For the sake of (their) kingdom, kings bring their brothers and relations to death, or else banish them from their country. They do not allow adherents or dependents to intermeddle with or share their sovereignty. When a king retires from his kingdom, he becomes reduced to equality with the common people, and, as the astrologer has thus directed, you ought to marry your sister and seat her with you on the throne. Though you shall have to abstain from her conjugal society she will (still) be called your wedded wife, and the kingdom will (thus) remain with you." Dáhar called to him those 500 Thakurs, who were (now) among his chief and confidential men, and said: "In all matters I repose full trust and confidence in your ability and bravery, and I cannot do without your counsel and advice, and my orders are executed, throughout my territories, with your help. Astrologers have now predicted that, the princess Bái shall never go to any other place from this fort, and that he shall be her husband, who shall retain this country in his possession for a long time. It is not meet that this kingdom be transferred to other hands, and you ought to think over this matter. To cut oneself off from a kingdom is a very difficult thing, and what wazir Budhiman considers expedient involves a great disgrace, is immoral and will bring dishonour on our Brahman family. When this disagreeable news reaches the ears of other kings of our time, and is in the mouths of the public, they will excommunicate us, and a confusion will arise in our religion."

The trick of wazir Budhiman.

When wazir Budhiman went home, he took a sheep in hand, and in its hair he scattered some earth and mustard-seed, and then poured water. He continued (this treatment) for several days and nights, till the whole (animal) became green (by the seeds sending off shoots). He then drove it out, and crowds of people, great and low, urban and rural, gazed at it in wonder. This went on for 3 days. Thereafter though the sheep wandered all about the town, no one paid any attention to it, and it was clean forgotten. The wazir (then) said: "O king, whatever happens, whether good or evil, the people's tongues wag about it for 3 days only; thereafter no one remembers whether it was good or evil. Anyhow, you ought so to act that you may not be cut off from the kingdom—that this matter may be (quietly) settled, and this assembly (of nobles) may not fall off from their allegiance to you." Dáhar then turned for advice to those 500 men, on whose word he placed full reliance, and in whose valour and courage he always trusted, and who, on their part, used to listen to his commands attentively, and conform to his words and deeds. These men unanimously declared: "We are ready to obey the king's order with all our heart. There is no doubt that kings derive pleasure from a kingdom. If this State is transferred to some other person, whether he be the king's brother or a stranger, the loss to the king will be all the same." Thus when all of them agreed to the proposal, Dáhar went and put his own scarf on his sister's head, and adorned her with rings and other ornaments (as his bride). He then placed his own sword in her lap, and with that (in lieu of the bridegroom) all the familiar nuptial ceremonies were performed. Then he tied a corner of her scarf to that of his own, and seated her on the throne of the kingdom by his side under the (royal) canopy.*

Dáhar writes a letter to Daharsiah by way of apology.

This event became the talk of high and low, and attained (great) notoriety and publicity. Then Dáhar wrote a letter to his brother, couched in gentle words, and in it he referred to the horoscope of Bái, and said: "The astrologers divined, by

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* In the Tárikh Maasúmí one more ceremony is mentioned, *viz.*, that of the bride and the bridegroom going several times round a fire.

means of their science, that this princess would be the queen of Alór, and her husband would be the king who was to hold fast all these territories. To remedy and avert this unpleasant consequence, I took it upon myself to commit this shameful breach of royal etiquette and social rules. We now make the apology that what we considered expedient to do was done through necessity, and not of our own free will. Do therefore excuse us."

When Daharsiah received this letter, he sent a reply in which he said: "What you have done is wicked and infamous. Whether you did it through necessity or of your own free will, you can never be excused, and whether you considered it allowable to do such an illegal and detestable act, in order to secure worldly pomp and power, or took the initial step by reason of the temptation of the devil, what you now ought to do is to turn from your evil ways, to forswear your sin, and to grieve (for your transgression), so that you may not be shut off from (the communion of) our religion, and our alliance with you may not be cancelled. If you fail to turn from this sin, in accordance with our suggestion and advice, you will make yourself deserving of opprobrium and will receive (your) punishment. You would have then to thank yourself for the consequences of these ugly deeds."

When this letter of Daharsiah came to Dáhar, he thought of going to his brother. He consulted the wazir, saying: "Let me go to him at Brahmanábád," but the wazir said: "What good will that do you?"

Wazir Budhiman dissuades the king from going to Daharsiah.

The wazir continued: "Long life to the king! You have committed a great mistake in thinking of such an enterprise, (an enterprise) which can by no means secure you your heart's desire, while its dangerous issue can no way be averted, except by the destruction of your life. When you are once in the presence of your brother, you must bid adieu to all hopes of your safety. If you believe that your brother will do you no despite, then you are harbouring what is a great impossibility in your mind. In matters relating to territory, wealth and woman, partnership or negligence is not allowable; for (if allowed) it is sure to end in danger to

life. In such matters, even a son does not consider it proper to repose trust in his father, and a father does not consider it proper to repose trust in his son. If, however, you are determined to have your way, you must wash your hands of your life. From no point of view does this step appear to me a right one."

"Then what is the counsel of perfection for us in this matter?" asked Dáhar. "The counsel of perfection," replied the wazir, "for you is that you should shun your brother's love and friendship and not be anxious to meet him. Better secure yourself within the walls of the fort, and act according to the words of the astrologers and sooth sayers and follow their advice. No other plan will be of any good to you in this matter." According to this suggestion, Dáhar made up his mind and took shelter in the fort, and laid up stores of the articles that he considered necessary for the garrison, like grain, grass and firewood. He collected men, arms and appliances of war, and made himself quite ready to repulse the attack of the enemy.

Dáhar sends a letter to Daharsiah.

Dáhar then wrote a letter to Daharsiah, in which he expressed his respect and reverence and submission, (but) as to the affair of Bái he wrote as follows:—

"Though Bái is connected with our father, she was born of a daughter of the Jats who, by their origin, are an adverse and criminal tribe. You will specially find when you come to know their true nature that, they are unworthy of trust and confidence, and are far from being honest and faithful. There is a well-known proverb which says 'whoever caught hold of a sheep's leg, got milk for himself, and whoever caught the hand of a Jat fell down on his face.' Thus when she is of foreign extraction, my marriage with her is lawful. Do not, therefore, insist any more upon your view. But if you still have any suspicion against me, I hereby solemnly promise and swear that, in everything I shall consider you my superior and will hold the fort of Alór as an agent of yours, and will never oppose you or quarrel with you. (Accept) my compliments."

When Daharsiah received this letter, he understood that Dáhar refused to come, and that he laid flattering unction to his soul and paid no attention to the advice of his brother. He (therefore) ordered preparations to be made for his journey, and the necessary provisions collected, and in an auspicious hour, he started with great expedition. For some days he had to travel through dangerous deserts and valleys interspersed with running streams. (While journeying through deserts) he made tanks and caused leather bags and pitchers of water to be carried, that his men might have a sufficient supply of water and not feel thirsty. In this manner, he travelled for some days and then halted for some days. He acted with much dissimulation, his object being to deceive Dáhar, and, by some contrivance or stratagem, to secure him. He went on sending men to bring news of Dáhar, and moved here and there, on his route, in search of game, so that it might be believed that he was on a hunting excursion, and Dáhar should not avoid him. Dáhar, on the other hand, was spending his whole day in the enjoyment of pleasures and kept himself busy that way. (But), from time to time, he sent spies to public roads and hunting places, and was very watchful. He posted faithful warriors fully armed, on every side, and kept trustworthy men and confidential intelligencers on all the four gates of the castle in order that they might protect the entrance with zeal and concentrated attention and without interruption. Daharsiah thought that Dáhar might have repented of his folly. But, when he came to within 3 days' journey from Alór, his spies came and informed him that Dáhar and his men were busy the whole day with pleasures and amusements, and did not trouble their thoughts about Daharsiah.

Daharsiah goes to Alór in order to seize Dáhar.

Daharsiah entertained hopes that, if Dáhar remained negligent and careless, the fort would fall into his hands. He therefore made efforts in that direction. He rode on very fast, in the fashion of cavaliers giving exercise to their horses, and in one day and night he travelled twenty leagues, and early the next morning he arrived at Alór. Dáhar (meanwhile) had made preparations to go on a hunting excursion. Just as his horse was brought to

Daharsiah tries to seize Dáhar.

him, however, a horseman suddenly appeared, accompanied by a few other men riding by his side. When he reached the gate of the fort the gate was closed, and armed men appeared over the battlements. Daharsiah stood at the gate, and asked the gate-keeper to open it, and admit him into the fort. But the man in charge of the fort did not open the gate, and stood ready for a fight. Daharsiah (then) sent a man to Dáhar with the following message: "I have not come to fight with you. This fort was the capital city of my father, and from him it has descended to me. You received charge of it from me as my agent and the kingdom is mine. There never have been two crowns in one country. Give up the possession of this territory, and hand over the fort to my trustworthy officer." Dáhar replied: "Fix your camp outside the fort, and send your confidential nobles to assure me of your good faith. Then I shall come out and surrender the fort to you." When Daharsiah understood that Dáhar meant to evade his demand, and that his (Dharsiah's) stratagem had failed, he crossed the river Mehrán and encamped (on the other side). He then began to ponder the best method for securing Dáhar. He thought he should, at first, evince friendliness and kindness, and behave gently as a brother and kinsman, so that Dáhar might easily come out of the castle. (With that object) he sent some of his nobles and grandees to him, hoping that he would be gained over by them, but (this plan) also miscarried.

Dáhar's plan formed in consultation with the wazir.

Dáhar sent for his wazir Budhiman and told him: "Daharsiah shows so much friendliness and courtesy that, my mind suggests I should go out and secure the good-will of my elder brother. I think he will not be annoyed with me, or reject my apology." The wazir said: "O king you should not believe his word. Be not deceived by his tricks and his flatteries, and mind not what he says; because kings are crafty, and oaths and solemn affirmations are but their traps of treachery, with which they catch their enemy. They speak soft and low and play many a tune, simply to gain their object. Among the rules of conduct (prescribed) for kings, one is that an enemy should be reduced to submission by tricks and deceit. You ought, therefore, to act (with due vigilance). No means of escape are available to him who falls into the net of calamity. (If you trust him) you will certainly

be afflicted and injured by Daharsiah, and you will find yourself caught in the trap of disaster and confined in the cage of trouble and misery, and will not again have any means of setting yourself at liberty." Dáhar said: "Though there is a risk, and one cannot be sure of safety, a brother is after all a brother." He then sent word to Daharsiah to the effect that he (Dáhar) was ready to agrée to his proposal and come out to meet him, if Daharsiah would give him assurance of his safety. Prince Daharsiah thereupon wrote a letter, in which he took an oath in very strong terms, and said: "In order to win your trust I will come alone to see you, while you may come out with your whole retinue." Both of them agreed to this condition, and appointed the time and place of meeting. Next day, when the disc of the sun, in the firmament, arose in the east, and the world threw off from its shoulders the sable cloak (of night), Daharsiah sat on an elephant, and entered the town of Alór by the western gate. The town officer (kótwál) sent a trustworthy person to Dáhar, informing him that Daharsiah had come to the door of the fort and asking for orders. Dáhar ordered the door to be opened, and Daharsiah admitted alone. Accordingly Daharsiah was brought in. Dáhar now called wazir Budhiman and said to him: "Daharsiah is come into the fort; now that he has come, I should undoubtedly go to him. Even if he requires me to go out with him, I will not disobey him. What is your opinion in this matter?" The wazir said: "You should not depend upon his word. From what I have heard from his troopers, it appears that he intends to behave treacherously. In the first place, it was a mistake to bring him into the fort. Now when he has once come in, if you do not think it proper to kill him, at least put him into prison and keep him confined there, till a settlement is made between you both on solemn conditions. Otherwise the fate of this kingdom will be different from what you wish it to be. (Be good enough) to hear my counsel; your views on this matter are far from being right."

Daharsiah comes into the fort of Alór riding on an elephant.

Dáhar paid no heed to the words (of his wazir), and Daharsiah came riding on his elephant to the very door of the palace. Dáhar ran to him on foot, and welcomed him in respectful terms, and asked him to dismount and enter the palace. But Daharsiah replied: "I will not dismount. Come and take your

seat here on the elephant that we may go out, and sit together for a while and talk of our joys and griefs, so that the people, noble as well as common, may know that there are no quarrels or differences between us, that we are reconciled again, and that no malice or calumny will ever find a way to part us. This news will spread throughout the world, and our enemies will all be ashamed and depressed, and our friends will be highly pleased and satisfied. After we have enjoyed each other's company and conversation, you may safely return to your palace.' Dáhar did not hesitate to comply with his request, and was ready to do as his brother wished. Wazir Budhiman thereupon felt much grieved, and became very anxious as to the final result of this trick of Daharsiah. The latter now ordered his elephant driver to move the animal forward so that Dáhar might take his seat, and wazir Budhiman (then) immediately mounted his horse and rode on by the side of his master, till he arrived near the gate. Dáhar now repented, and, feeling afraid, turned towards the wazir Budhiman, and whispered to him: "What is your opinion? I do not think it right to go out." The wazir replied: "You have obstinately rejected my counsel. You have not followed the methods of Nahush and Constantine, and you now want Kanauj" (that is want me to do the impossible).* "Make haste," urged Dáhar, "say, what plan I should resort to, as my mind does not encourage me to go out." "There is no other plan," replied the wazir, "than that when you come to the gate, hold fast to its upper part, and detach yourself from the elephant, so that the animal may pass out, and we will then close the door and take you down." Dáhar liked this plan: (so) when he came to the gate and the front half of the elephant passed out, Dáhar stretched his hands and caught hold of the top of the door frame and detached himself from the elephant. The elephant passed out and Budhiman closed the gate of the fort and Dáhar was gently taken down. When Daharsiah looked back he did not see Dáhar and found the gate of the fort closed fast. He then became very sad and returned dejected to his camp, and then, as soon as he dismounted from the elephant, he was attacked by fever. On the next day, small-pox * appeared on his person, and on the fourth

* This translation is tentative and conjectural. The original is not clear.

† *A'blah* might mean boils too, but in the Tuhfatulkirám it is clearly said that Daharsiah died of *chichak* (small-pox).

day he died, and gave his dear soul to the winds (of heaven).

Dáhar gets the news of Daharsiah's death.

When Dáhar received the news of this sad event, he wished to go out to cremate the corpse of his brother, and perform his obsequies. (But) wazir Budhiman said to him: "May the king live long! Do not be in a hurry, for kings, sometimes, play tricks of this sort, and pretend death. When you go to attend his funeral ceremonies, he will undo you; and when once you are in his clutches, it will be vain to regret and to lament. There is a parable in this connection. When a fox is tired of waiting for its victim, it makes believe it is dead, in order that carrion-eaters might collect (to eat its apparently dead body). Then it jumps up, and catches them, and eats them. A king should never consider himself safe from an enemy. You had better send a confidential servant first to investigate and to enquire, so that the truth may come out."* Accordingly a trustworthy person was despatched (to Daharsiah's camp). He found all his grandees and nobles in sorrow and mourning, according to the custom of the time. He approached them and said: "I am sent by king Dáhar to enquire after the health of Daharsiah, and I see you all mourning; pray, what is the matter?" Two of the nobles arose, and led him to where Daharsiah was lying, in order that he might see for himself. (Finding that Daharsiah was dead) he expressed great grief. The nobles gave Daharsiah's ring to the messenger as a proof of the truth of the sad news, and sent him back. When the messenger communicated the sorrowful news to Dáhar and gave him the ring, the latter, without any more thought or delay, came out with all his friends and nobles, and, crossing the waters of the Mehrán, arrived at the camping ground. He entered his brother's tent, and, when he saw him (lying dead), he tore his clothes (out of grief), threw off his turban, and took to mourning with cries and groans. He then ordered a large quantity of sandal-wood to be collected, and with

* One cannot but be struck with the extremely wily character of Budhiman. In some respects he may be compared to Polonius in Shakespeare's Hamlet.

it he burnt the dead body of Daharsiah, and performed the usual mourning ceremonies.* The next day he took possession of his brother's treasury, and took his servants and other dependents under his own protection. For a period of one month, thereafter, he stayed at Alór. He (then) married his brother's widow, who was Agham Lúhánah's daughter, and moved to the fort of Brahmanábád, and fixed his quarters there. The reign of Daharsiah lasted for 30 years.

Dáhar goes to the fort of Brahmanábád.

Dáhar now fixed his residence at the fort of Brahmanábád for a year, during which period all the people of that part of the country put their heads into the yoke of allegiance and made homage to him. Dáhar then called Chach son of Daharsiah, and made an alliance with him, and acknowledged him as his father's successor. He then went to the fortified town of Siwistán, and thence to that of Ráor. The foundation of the fort at this place had been laid by his father Chach who had died before it could be finished. Dáhar stayed there long enough to see the building completed. He spent in it the four months of summer, as it was a very pleasant city with a salubrious climate and with sweet water. He fixed his winter quarters at Brahmanábád, where he spent the four months of winter. The remaining four months of spring he used to spend at Alór. In this manner, 8 years passed away, during

* The author of the Tárikh Masúmí gives a different version. He says Dáhar made preparations to meet his brother Daharsiah, and waited for him very long. Being tired, he went out on a hunting excursion. In his absence, Daharsiah came and wanted to go into the fort, but Dáhar's men would not admit him. The nobles, however, induced him to encamp at some distance from the city. Meanwhile, Dáhar was informed and he came hurriedly to his capital. He sent some provisions to his brother, whom he treated as a guest. But Daharsiah would not accept them. In the evening their mother and some of Dáhar's nobles went to Daharsiah and gave him a full explanation of Dáhar's behaviour, as regards his marriage with his sister. Eventually Daharsiah was satisfied and a reconciliation was brought about between the two brothers. The next day Daharsiah came on an elephant to pay a friendly visit to his brother, but would not come down and enter the palace, as he said he had taken an oath to that effect. The next day Dáhar returned the visit, and Daharsiah came out of his tent and gave a warm reception to his brother. The two brothers then remained closeted for some time, during which they gave mutual personal explanations and apologies. Soon after Dáhar took his leave and came away. That very day Daharsiah fell ill and died.

which time his kingdom was perfectly established, the fame of his sovereignty spread throughout the length and breadth of the world, and his rule was firmly fixed in the country of Hind and Sind. (Seeing Dáhar's rise) the king of Ramal, one of the neighbouring princes, became jealous of his power.

The king of Ramal comes to fight with Dáhar son of Chach.

The king of Ramal * invaded the country with a large army consisting of brave cavalry and infantry, great warriors and furious elephants. He came in the direction of Budhiah, camped in the outskirts of it, and took possession of that part of the country. From there he crossed the river, and came direct to Alór. When Dáhar got the news (of the approach) of the king of Ramal he called wazir Budhiman, and said: "A strong enemy has now invaded our country. Tell us what expedients should be adopted, and what advice occurs to you to give." The wazir replied: "Long life to the king! If you think you are able to stand against him and fight with him in point of strength and bravery, prepare yourself for the battle, advance to meet him, smite with your sword to win name and fame, and repulse the enemy; otherwise you should sue for peace and submit and do him homage. If wealth has to be given away, (remember) it is for a day like this that kings collect treasures and bury them under ground, for, by means of gold, troops are collected, and, by means of troops, war is carried on with the enemy, in which they sacrifice their lives, for the sake of their country and their good name. In other ways (also), by means of gold, an enemy can easily be made to retreat. With the help of gold, a man can settle all the affairs of this world satisfactorily, repulse an enemy, and satisfy his vengeance. At the same time, with its help, he can make the necessary provision for his journey to the next world." Dáhar said: "I would rather die than submissively bend my head before a kinsman. How is it possible for me to bear such shame?"

Muhammad Aláfí an Arab, goes to fight with the king of Ramal.

Now there was a man, an Aláfí Arab, of the tribe of Baní Asámah (or the children of Asámah) who had killed Abdurrahman son of Ash-as for running

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* In the Tuhfatulkirám this is Raumalrái King of Kanúj, and not King of Ramal.

away from a battle, and out of fear (of the Khalifah's punishment), had come and joined Dáhar with 500 Arab warriors to serve under him.* Wazir Budhiman made a proposal to the king, saying: "No one knows the art of war so well as the Arab nation. Seek the Aláfí's advice, and consult him in this matter, and he is sure to show you the right way" Accordingly, Dáhar seated himself on his elephant, and went to him and addressed him as follows:—"O Arab Chief, I have been kind to you, and have treated you with respect, in order that we may receive assistance from you, on an occasion like this. Now, a powerful enemy has invaded our country: tell us, what, in your opinion, ought to be done, and what you know, and what you can do." The Aláfí said: "Your Majesty should be all at ease as to this matter Do not feel anxious at all, for I have a plan to check them efficiently. Give me a few selected horsemen from your own royal guard, that I may go on a round, and learn their strength and mode of life; while you, at about a league† (from the city), order a ditch to be dug and make a stand there." Dáhar liked this plan; so he remained there, and the Aláfí had a turn round the enemy by way of reconnoitring, and came to know that they slept soundly at night, and entertained no fear whatever. The Aláfí therefore taking his 500 Arabs as well as the warriors of Hind with him, made a nocturnal attack. They came from all the four directions, with loud war-cries, and fell upon the camp of the king of Ramal. A great noise and confusion ensued, and a hand-to-hand fight took place, in which a large number of the enemy was killed, and 80,000 brave men and 50 elephants were captured. Numberless horses and weapons of war also fell into their hands. When the day broke, all the prisoners were brought to Dáhar who was for slaying them all, but the wazir interceded, and said: "Be grateful when the great God has given you victory, and offer Him thanks. It is a rule of the royal code

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* More of this will be found below, in the account of Abdul Malik's Khalifate.

† Farsang is the Persian word used. According to Persian calculation a farsang (which is *forsakh* in Arabic) is equal to three miles, and a mile is equal to 4 000 gazes, and a gaz, as shown elsewhere in a note, is equal to 6 fists or 24 fingers.

that whenever kings and great men gain a victory, and chiefs and nobles of the enemy's party fall into their hands, they should be pardoned. So the right course for you to adopt is to set the prisoners at liberty, and spare their lives." Following this suggestion of the wazir, king Dáhar released the captives, and was so much pleased with him that he said: "O wise wazir, O blessed counsellor, do ask some favour of me." The wazir said: "I have no child to keep alive my name. Do you order that on all the silver coins that are made in the royal mint, my name be struck on the reverse as the name of the king is struck on the obverse, since thereby the name of this humble servant will last long on the royal seal owing to its being coupled with that of the king, and will not be forgotten in Hind and Sind." The king passed such a decree. Thereafter Dáhar's sovereignty was firmly established and his power and pomp attained such a climax that he seized the presents destined for the capital of the Khalífahs, and became refractory and insolent to them.

The history of the great Khalífs up to the time of Walíd.

It is related by the historians and the narrators of these events, that it was in the reign of the Commander of the Faithful, Umar son of Khattáb (may the great God be pleased with him), that an army of Islám was first sent out to different parts of Hind and Sind, to carry on religious war there. In the eleventh year of the Hijrah,* that is to say, after the flight of His holiness the prophet of God, (may the blessings of God be on him and his descendants) Usmán son of Ás Sakifí was the first person who was sent by Khalífah Umar to Bahrain.† Usmán himself started in the direction of Ammán or the high sea, and his army was sent in a small fleet of boats, by way of the sea under the command of Mughairah the father of A's to Bahrain, and thence to Debal. At that time, the country of Sind was in the hands of Chach son of Seláij, 35 years of whose reign had already passed. The people of Debal were mostly merchants. Sámah son of Dewáij was the ruler of the place, on behalf of Chachrái.‡ When the Arab army arrived at Debal, he

* A. D. 632.

† An island in the Persian Gulf near the Arabian shore.

‡ The author of the Tuhfatulkirám says Sámah son of Seláij, a brother of Chach, was the governor of the place.

issued out of the fort and engaged with them in fight. It is related by one of the intelligent men who were with him, that when the two armies stood opposite each other, Mughairah the father o A's drew his sword, (and attacked the enemy's force) crying: "In the name of God and in the cause of God" * and fought till he was killed.

The people questioned the above narrator as to how he himself was fighting then, and he replied: "I was fighting with my arm but was hearing his (Mughairahs) cries with the ear of my heart." This same Usmán son of· A's was again appointed by Khalífah Umar son of Khattáb, (may God be pleased with him) to lead an expedition to Irák,† and Rabíah son of Ziyád Hárisí was sent under him to take an army to Makrán and Kirmán. A letter was written to Abú Músá Ash-arí (the governor of Irák) from the capital of the Khalifahs requiring him to write a report about what passed in Irák and in the country of Hind. Accordingly when Abú Músá got the news of Mughairah's defeat and murder, and learnt that in Hind and Sind there was a king who was very headstrong and stiff-necked, and was determined to behave offensively, he sent a communication to that effect to the Commander of the Faithful, Umar, (with whom may God be pleased) urging at the same time that he should think no more of Hind.

About this time occurred the sad event of the martyrdom of Umar son of Khattáb, (may God be pleased with him). And the Khalifate came into the hands of the Commander of the Faithful, Usmán son of Affán (with whom may God be pleased). He became desirous of sending an expedition to Sind to carry on a religious war, and he forthwith sent an army to Kandáil and Makrán under the command of Abdulláh son of A'mir son of Rabíah, who was instructed to gather full information about the country of Sind, and depute a clever, wise and good man to make full enquiries as to the true state of Hind and Sind, and to communicate the result in full details. Accordingly Abdulláh son of A'mir sent Hákim son of Hailah Abdí for the purpose.

* The Arabic phrases are "Bismilláh and Fí Sabílilláhi" that are often quoted and repeated.

† The old Babylonia or Chaldæa.

It is related by Abdulláh son of Umar, son of Abdul Kais, that Hákim was an eloquent speaker and a very good poet, though he was an illiterate person. For example, the following verses in the praise of Alí son of Tufail Ghanawí are his:—

Verse.—" Ever confer favours on me and on my tribe,
May I and they be elevated and abide for ever;
May you attain the abode of bliss,
And may the low be raised to your kindness."

He has also composed the following verses in praise of our lord, the Commander of the Faithful, Alí son of Abí Tálib (may the great God glorify his nature) on his return after a victory:—

Verse.—Oh Alí, owing to your alliance (with the prophet) you are truly of high birth, and your example is great, and you are wise and excellent, and your advent has made your age an age of generosity and kindness and brotherly love.

Some of the narrators of this history have stated that the Commander of the Faithful, Usman son of Affán (with whom may God be pleased), wrote to Abdulláh son of A'mir to send Hákim son of Hailah to Hind and Sind to gather information about that country, and so Abdulláh nominated him for the work. When, after acquainting himself with the state of affairs there, he returned, and came to the son of A'mir, and gave him a detailed account of the rules of war and strategy and of the confederation and unity of the residents of the town and the country (in that part of the world), Abdulláh sent him to Khalífah Usmán son of Affán (may God be pleased with him). When he arrived in the Khalífah's presence and went through the usual formalities of paying respects, the Khalífah asked him: " O Hákim have you seen Hindustán and learnt all about it?" " Yes, O Commander of the Faithful," replied Hákim. " Give us a description of it," asked the Khalifah, and Hákim gave the following epigrammatic reply: " Its water is dark (and dirty); its fruit is bitter and poisonous; its land is stony, and its earth is saltish. A small army will soon be annihi-

lated there, and a large army will soon die of hunger." Khalífah Usmán then enquired: "How are the people with regard to their promises and treaties? Are they faithful or violators of their word?" Abdulláh replied: "They are treacherous and deceitful." After hearing this account the Khalífah prohibited Abdulláh from invading Sind, and no one was sent thither.

The Khalifate of the Commander of the Faithful and leader of all pious men, our lord Alí son of Abí Tálib (may God glorify his nature).

Then came the Khalifate of the Commander of the Faithful, Alí, (peace be on him!) about the close of the year 38.* The historians of that time and the interpreters of narratives and tales relate that, when the turn of the Khalifate came to the Commander of the Faithful, Alí son of Abí Tálib (may God glorify his nature!) the people of the town began to quarrel and fight with one another. It is related by A'mir son of Háris son of Abdul Kais that when the parties fell out among themselves, Sághir son of Dáú was appointed to lead an army to Hind, and a large number of respectable men and followers was sent under him; and they departed by way of Bharj and Mount Báyeh. This was in the year 80.† To whichever town they came, they were victorious and successful, and they secured many slaves and a large booty, until they arrived at the mountain Kíkánán. Here the natives stood up to fight with them.

A description of the battle.

Hazlí states that, in that army of the Arabs there was a brave soldier by name Háris son of Marrah. He was at the head of a column of one thousand fully armed warriors. He had three brave slaves with him, one of whom he retained to bear his arms, and the other two he appointed as officers in the army, each being made the leader of 500 men. When they arrived at Makrán the news was carried to Kíkánán, where the people prepared for battle and commenced fighting. They were about 20,000 men. (Nevertheless) the army of Islám attacked them and overpowered them, and seeing no other help, the

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* A. D. 658.

† Surely this is a mistake and the year should be 40 equivalent to A. D. 660.

natives retreated to the gates of the town. But when the Arab army left the battle-field and marched after the residents of Kíkánán, the latter came down to obstruct their progress. The Arab army made an onset, with their war cry of "Alláhu Akbar" (God is great) and from the left and the right the cliffs echoed the cry of "Alláhu Akbar." When the infidels of Kíkánán heard those cries they were much frightened, and some of them surrendered and accepted Islám and the rest fled away, and from that time up to our day, on the anniversary of that battle, cries of "Alláhu Akbar" are heard from the mountain.

They had already completed this victory when they received the sad news of the martyrdom of His Highness the Commander of the Faithful, Alí son of Abí Tálib, (on whom be peace). They, therefore, turned back, and when they arrived at Makrán, they learnt that Muáwiyeh son of Abísafiyán had become the Khalífah.

The Khalifate of Muáwiyeh son of Abísafiyán.

The Khalifate of Muáwiyeh son of Abísafiyán commenced in the year 44.* The authors of (his) history have stated on the authority of Mihlab who heard it from Hazlí, and Hazlí from Kásim and Kásim from Nasr son of Sinán, that when Muáwiyeh was confirmed in the Khalifate, he sent Abdulláh son of Sawád with 4,000 men to the country of Sind appointing him governor thereof, and chief administrator in those parts. He said: "In the country of Sind, there is a mountain, which is called Kíkánán. There are big and beautiful horses to be found there, and previously also (various) spoils were received here from that country. The people are very cunning, and, under the shelter of that mountain, have become refractory and rebellious." Muáwiyeh also sent Umar son of Abdulláh to conquer Armáíl, and ordered Abdulláh son of Ámir to go to Basrah, and join Kais son of Háshim Salmí in the wars of Ammán and Ardbíl. Each of these was to take 1,000 selected men with him.

A tradition.

It is related by Abul Hasan, who heard it from Hazlí, and Hazlí from Muslim son of Muhárib son of Muslim son of Ziyád, that when Muáwiyeh despatched the expedition

* A. D. 664.

of 4,000 men under Abdulláh son of Sawád, no one had to kindle fire in his camp, as they had carried abundant provisions for the journey, ready made for use. It was only on a single night that fire-light was perceived in the camp, and, on enquiry being made, it was found that a pregnant woman, had been confined and fire was urgently required. Abdulláh gave her permission and she gave a merry banquet, and for three days continually entertained the whole army (with fresh-cooked food).

When Abdulláh arrived at Kíkánán, the enemy made an assault on him, but the army of Islám routed them, and secured plenty of booty. The people of Kíkánán assembled in large numbers, and occupied the mountain passes. The battle now raged furiously and Abdulláh son of Sawád found it necessary to keep his men in their ranks, by making a stand himself with a party of selected men, fully armed; and he appealed to the hearts of others in the following words: "O children of the Prophet's companions, do not turn your faces from the infidels, so that your faith may remain free from any flaw and you acquire the honour of martyrdom." Hearing these words his men assembled round the standard of Abdulláh, and one of these men, who belonged to the family of Abdul Kais, came out with a challenge to a single fight. Instantly the chief of the enemy's forces engaged with him. The example of this hero was followed by another Yásar son of Sawád. The chief was killed, but the army of Kíkánán made a general assault, by which the army of Islám was ultimately put to flight. The whole mountainous region now became alive with fighting men and the Musalmans beat a (hasty) retreat, and came back to Makrán.

A tradition.

Abul Hasan relates that he heard Hátim son of Kutaibíah Sahlí say: "That day I myself was in the army when the son of Sawád fought with his youthful adversary, and his friends advanced in the same manner, and killed many men of the enemy's side. After a hard fight they at last fell martyrs and I stripped the dead bodies of the enemy, and found a hundred signet rings." Ghailán son of Abd urrahmán also says that he heard the following verses read before Muáwiyeh :—

Verses.—Yásir ground the army to dust under his mare's hoofs.

He cut them down the more, the more they multiplied.

His mare, how loyal—how warlike—how fleet was she!

So says A'war Al Shattí.

Inform the high and the low among the children of Rabíah,

We found the mailed cavalier on a dread charger in a hand to-hand tussle, doing deeds of daring.

Safyán son of U'r Hindí appointed to carry on the religious war in Hind.

It is related by Hazlí who heard it from Tibuí son of Músá, who again heard it from his father, that on Abdulláh son of Sawád being martyred, he appointed Sinán son of Salmah as his successor. Soon afterwards Muáwiyeh wrote to Ziyád, (the then governor of Irák) to select a proper person for the holy wars in Hind. When he received the letter, Ziyád nominated Ahnaf son of Kais, who was liked by all, and was the pride of the Faithful.* Ahnaf forthwith went to Makrán, where he remained for a period of two years, and after two years and one month he was removed from that post.

Ráshid son of Umar Jazrí appointed for the holy war in Hind.

Abdul Hasan heard it from Hazlí and the latter related it on the authority of Aswad, that after the removal of the son of Salmah by Ziyád, Muáwiyeh called Ráshid, who was a very respectable and courageous man, made him sit with himself on the throne, and conversed with him for a long time. When he openly told the chief men: "Ráshid is a noble personage, all-worthy of being a leader. Respect him and obey him and assist him during the war, and never leave him alone." When Ráshid arrived at Makrán, he went to Sinán, with the Arab chiefs and nobles, (who were with him) and found that Sinán was strong and extremely wise, and he could not help observing: "By God Sinán is a great man and a brave warrior and in every way worthy of being a chief and a leader of armies."

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* I believe, this is the same Ahnaf, who was subsequently appointed the first Governor of Alór, after that fort was taken.

Both of them sat together (and had a long consultation). Ráshid had been deputed by Muáwiyeh, with particular instructions to regularly inform him as to what was going on in Hind and Sind. So these (two nobles) conversed with each other on important confidential matters, and Ráshid made full enquiries about Sind from his predecessor, and, without losing much time, marched against the army of the enemy.

A tradition.

It is related by Abdur Rahmán son of Abdulláh Salít, who said that he had heard it from Abdur Razák son of Salmah, that when Ráshid son of Umar came to Sind, he managed to get tribute (for the Khalífah), from (the dwellers on the) mountain of Bayeh, and he went to Kíkánán, and secured the tribute for the past years as well as for the current year. He also procured many spoils and slaves from the rebellious and refractory people. After one year he returned thence, and travelling *viá* Sístán, he came to the mountains of Mauzar and Bharj.* The natives of this mountainous country mustered about 50,000 men strong, to stop him on his way. A bloody battle ensued which lasted from the time of morning prayers to that of afternoon prayers. Ráshid fell a martyr, and the command again fell to the lot of Sinán son of Salmah, who, once more, became the leader: Yasár Kuraishí is said to have related that when Ráshid son of Umar became a martyr, Ziyád appointed Sinán son of Salmah general (of the army), and conferred other favours on him, as he had been born during the life-time of His Holiness the Prophet (may the blessing of God be on him and on his descendants!) (It is said that) when the happy news (of his birth) was carried to his father, the holy Prophet (on whom and on whose descendants be the blessings of God!) said to him: "O Salmah, I congratulate you on the birth of a son." In reply Salmah said: "If I could sacrifice him in the cause of the great God I should consider it better than having a thousand sons, dying in some other cause than God's." The holy Prophet (the blessings of God and peace be on him and his children) gave the name of Sinán to the child, and now when he was made the Commander-in-chief, and marched out with a drawn army, he saw in a dream the Prophet, (on

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* In the Tuhfatulkirám, this is Bharój.

whom and on whose children be the blessings of God and peace!) who told him: "Your father used to be proud of your bravery; to-day it is your day; you are destined to conquer many countries." Encouraged by these words, Sinán marched on, and conquered several places, till he arrived in the country of Kíkánán. Through whichever town he passed, he introduced good methods and laws therein. When, however, he came to the district of Budhia, the people there rose against him, and killed him. Abú Khalah Bahkirí composed the following verses on his martyrdom:—

Verse.—Tell of Sinán son of Mauzar and his brothers,

Respectful greetings to them.

I saw him in his day of pride,

In this age he was like a (heaven-kissing) hill.

They (the natives) turned rebellious and ripened a hard design,

(But) the wicked, who rebel, never prosper.

Not for a moment did the hero avert his face or turn his back,

Though a whole world rushed against him.

Like the son of Sawád—like the son of Marat—he fought up to his last breath and levelled many a peak (*i. e.*, many chieftains) to the ground.

Appointment of Munzir son of Hárúd son of Bashar (as the Khalíf's agent).

Then the command fell to the lot of Munzir son of Hárúd son of Bashar. In the year 61* when under the orders of the Khalífah, Munzir put on the dress of honour (presented to him), and started for his post, his robe stuck to a piece of wood and was torn. Ubaidulláh son of Ziyád † became much grieved at this incident, and interpreted it as an evil omen signifying bad luck for Munzir. He bade him adieu, and returning to his place, wept for him, and said: "Munzir will never return from this journey, and will die." Abdul Azíz asked the son of Ziyád: "So much money is being lost; are you

* A. D. 680.

† He was then governor of Irák and had succeeded his father Ziyád to the post.

not going to appoint anyone to go and collect the tribute." "I have sent Munzir," replied Ubaidulláh, "as there is no one else who is his equal, in point of bravery and skill in fighting. If fortune favours him, he will return successful."

When Munzir started from there, and came to the country of the enemy, he fell ill at Búrábí and gave up his soul to God. His son Hakam was then at Kirmán and the sad news was communicated to him there Munzir's brother Abdul Azíz now applied for the vacant post, but Hajjáj * coming to know of this (application) called Abdul Azíz and reprimanded him, observing: "A noble personage out of our grandees and chief men has sacrificed himself in the cause of the great God. His son is alive; are you so shameless as to apply for his post?"

Appointment of Hakam son of Munzir as agent.

It is related that when Hakam returned home, Ubaidulláh was informed of the fact, and he wept and became very sad. He called Munzir's son and made a gift of 30,000 dirams to him. The administration of the affairs of Hind was (also) entrusted to him. When Hakam put on the robe of honour, every one was struck with his brave and undaunted appearance, and instantly Abdulláh son of Aúr Hawárí rose and recited the following verses:—

Verses.—O Hakam son of Munzir son of Hárúd,

Extremely generous (you are) yourself, and your generosity is praiseworthy;

Follow a straight path—and follow it with dignity. May good befall you;

May my lines be cast in the pleasant places of this prince of the generous.

The Khalífate of Abdul Malik son of Marwán. †

It is related by the historians that when the Khalífate came into the hands of Abdul Malik son of Marwán, he gave (the governorship of) Irák, Hind and Sind to Hajjáj

* Who afterwards succeeded Ubaidulláh Ziyád in the governorship of Irák.

† Muáwiyeh was succeeded by his son Yazíd who died in 64 A. H. (A. D. 683), and was succeeded by his son Muáwiyeh II, but he was soon murdered and was succeeded by Marwán son of Hakam in 65 A. H. (A. D. 684). Marwán was suceeeded by his son Abdul Malik who is mentioned here.

son of Yúsif.* Hajjáj sent Aslam Kilábí to Makrán.† When the latter arrived there Safahwí son of Lam Hammámí met him on his way. Saíd said to him: "I am going to get down here; will you join me and be my helper?" "I have no army under me," replied Safahwí. "Are you so bold," said Saíd, "as to disregard the request I make on the authority and in the name of the Khalífah." "By God," replied Safahwí, "I will not obey your command; I consider it below my dignity to do so." Thereupon Saíd arrested him, and killed him, then he took off his skin, and sent his head to Hajjáj, and himself went to Makrán, and fixed his residence there. He appointed trustworthy men to collect the tribute, and by adopting gentle measures, he succeeded in securing more wealth from Hindustán (than was ever secured before). One day, he was coming to Marah-Bákhráj, when he accidentally encountered a party of Aláfís.

An account of the Aláfís and their rebellion.

It is said in a tradition on the authority of Kaibat son of Ashas, that one day, Kublaibat son of Halaf Mughanní, Abdulláh son of Abdur Rahím Aláfí, and Muhammad son of Muáwiyeh Aláfí, conspired among themselves, saying "Safahwí son of Lam was from our country. He belongs to Ammán and our part of the country jointly. How dared Saíd to kill a kinsman of ours?" So when they met him accidentally near Marah-Bákhráj, while he was coming to that place, (as said above) an altercation occurred between them, which ended in a fight and the Aláfís made an assault on Saíd and killed

* Hajjáj is notorious in history for his tyranny and cruelty. It is stated in the Táríkh Maasúmí that at his birth he had no visible excreting organ, and so an incision was made about the place. He did not suck his mother's breasts, until at the suggestion of a physician (who, it is said, was the Devil incarnate) he was rubbed, one day, with the blood of a kid, was made to sit in a pool of blood caused by slaughtering a goat, on the next, and until some snakes were cooked on the third. He is said to have cruelly slain 20,100 men, not to mention the vast number of men killed in his battles. At the time of his death 30,000 male and 20,000 female prisoners were found, in his prison house. He invented several modes of punishment by torture.

† This seems to be a mistake. Aslam's son Saíd was sent to Makrán (as in the Tuhfatulkirám). Here too Saíd is mentioned in the next sentence.

him. Thenceforth, they became permanent residents of Makrán. On this event Farzdak composed the following verses :—

Verses.—"O Saíd, you prepared for the holy war, but the earth has closed its doors against you and held you fast in its bosom (that is, you lie buried now).

The land of Makrán—verily closed around Saíd

—Saíd who was generous and from whose liberal fountain no bucket ever came forth empty,

Hard was it to rouse you to anger, and courageous were the guards at your gate, (but alas, you are gone) ;

When my eyes recall (your face), O Saíd, they shower unceasing tears and my grief is ever renewed."

Saíd's men returning home, Hajjáj became very angry with them, for returning without Saíd, and he asked them where their leader was. As they denied any knowledge on the point, Hajjáj ordered some of them to be beheaded. Then they stated the truth, and said that the Aláfís had rebelled against him and killed him. Thereupon Hajjáj ordered a man of the family of Baní Kiláb to kill Sulaimán Aláfí. He then sent his head to the house of Saíd's dependents and followers. He further consoled them, and showed much kindness to his relations, some of whom were the following :—Chach * son of Aslam, Bashír son of Ziyád, Muhammad son of Abdurrahmán, Ismáíl son of Aslam. These men, together with Saíd's slaves and freed slaves, began to cry and lament loudly. Then Saisaah son of Muhammad Kilábí uttered the following verses :—

Verses.—Gone is he (the hero) ! How can our hearts be without sorrow, when we hear of that (heroic) story of Saíd ?

His brothers have, for his sake, given up (as it were) their life ;

(Time was) when even high game retreated before him,

But when the hour struck—he was as if he was not ;

And the decree of the Lord became manifest and martyrdom fell upon him ;

I see him, in my dreams, at Kandáíl—there he kindly accords me an interview. Let not the fools of the market-place and new-fangled lordlings say aught against me.

* I believe this is not the correct name. Chach is evidently a Hindu ame ; nowhere can I find the correct name.

The writers of this history have related on the authority of Bashír son of Isá Sahib Inhat, who had received the information from Barkad son of Mughairah, and Umar son of Muhammad Tamímí, that when Hajjáj sent Mujá-ah son of Suáir to Khurásán, and the province of Kandáil was conquered in the year 85,* during the administration of Hajjáj, the Aláfís had left that part of the country before the arrival of Mujá-ah. The latter sent men after them to find them, but they went to Dáhar son of Chach, the ruler of Sind. Mujá-ah remained at Makrán for one year and then breathed his last.

Appointment of Mujá-ah son of Suáir son of Yazíd son of Khazífah as agent.

In the year 86,† Walíd son of Abdul Malik, who was a son of Marwán, became the Khalífah He entrusted the management of foreign affairs to Muhammad Hárún. It is said by historians that when Mujá-ah's life came to its close, Hajjáj son of Yúsif sent Muhammad son of Hárún to Hindustán, with full and absolute powers to command and to inhibit. He instructed him to make every effort to collect tributes (in arrear) for the royal treasury. Further he said: "Find out the Aláfís, and try your best to secure them, and exact the vengeance due to Saíd from them." Accordingly, in the commencement of the year 86, Muhammad found one of the Aláfís, killed him, under those orders, and in the name of the Khalífah, and sent his head to Hajjáj. At the same time, he wrote a letter to Hajjáj, in which he said: "I have made one of the Aláfís food for the sword of the Khalífah; if my life lasts, and fortune smiles, I hope to capture the others also." For five years Muhammad son of Hárún continued there, gaining victories both on land and water.

It is related that the king of Sarandeb‡ sent some curiosities and presents from the island of pearls, in a small fleet of boats by sea, for Hajjáj. He also sent some beautiful pearls and valuable jewels, as well as some Abyssinian male and female slaves, some pretty presents, and unparalleled rarities to the

An account of the rarities and presents sent from Sarandeb for the Khalíf of the time.

* A. D. 704. † A. D. 705. ‡ Ceylon.

capital of the Khalífah. A number of Mussalman women also went with them with the object of visiting the Kaabah, and seeing the capital city of the Khalífahs. When they arrived in the province of Kázrún, the boat was overtaken by a storm, and drifting from the right way, floated to the coast of Debal. Here a band of robbers, of the tribe of Nagámrah, who were residents of Debal, seized all the eight boats, took possession of the rich silken cloths they contained, captured the men and women, and carried away all the valuable property and jewels.* The officers of the king of Sarandeb and the women informed them that, the property was intended for the Khalífah then regnant, but they paid no heed and said: "If there is anyone to hear your complaint, and to help you, purchase your liberty." Then they all cried with one voice: "O Hajjáj, O Hajjáj, hear us and help us." The woman who first uttered that cry belonged to the family of Baní Azíz. Wasat Asaadí states that when Debal was conquered he had occasion to see that woman, who was fair-skinned and of tall stature. The merchants (who were in the boats) were brought to Debal, and the people who had fled from the boats came to Hajjáj and informed him of what had happened. "The Mussalman women," said they, "are detained at Debal and they cry out: 'O Hajjáj, O Hajjáj, hear us, help us'." When Hajjáj heard this, he said, as if in reply to the call of the women: "Here am I, here am I." It is also stated in a tradition about Hajjáj that, when the Mussalman women were asked what they meant by calling Hajjáj to their help, they replied: "We were in a sleep-like repose and we were disturbed in it, and so we called him to save us from the cruel and unmerciful people, who had confined us in captivity."

Hajjáj sends a messenger to the infidel Dáhar.

Hajjáj now sent a messenger to Dáhar, and addressed a letter to Muhammad Hárún, in which he said: "Send a trustworthy officer along with this messenger to

* According to the Tárikh Maasúmí, Khalífah Abdul Malik had sent a party of Syrian merchants, in some ships, to purchase some Indian female slaves and some rich stuffs. On their return voyage they anchored at the port of Debal, and were seized by pirates, to punish whom the Khalífah ordered a force to Sind; but the Khalífah soon died. In his successor's time, the force started.

Dáhar to tell him to set the Mussalman women at liberty, and to return the presents intended for the capital of the Khalífahs. He should also learn all about the women." Hajjáj wrote also a letter to Dáhar and signed it with his own blessed hand, and gave it to the messenger. In that letter he couched many threats in very strong terms. When that letter reached Dáhar, Wazíl, who was the secretary of Dáhar son of Chach, read it out. Dáhar heard the message that had been sent to him, and in reply he said: "That is the work of a band of robbers than whom none is more powerful. They do not even care for us."

Hajjáj asks for permission from the seat of the Khalífate to send a fresh expedition.

When this reply was received, Hajjáj communicated the whole matter to Khalífah Walíd son of Abdul Malik, and asked his permission to declare a religious war against Hind and Sind, but Walíd hesitated to give the permission. Hajjáj then wrote again (showing the necessity of such a step), and eventually the Khalífah gave his permission. Then Hajjáj appointed Abdulláh son of Bahtán-Salmí to be in charge of Makrán, and he asked Bazíl* to go to Muhammad Hárún, and told him: "You must inform that officer when you arrive at Makrán so that he may send you 3,000 men." Accordingly Bazíl started with 300 brave men accompanied by Abdulláh. Sailing by the sea of Ammán, Bazíl arrived at the fortified town of Nerún.† When Muhammad Hárún got Hajjáj's letter, he sent a large army to Bazíl, and (with that force) Bazíl marched towards Debal.‡ The residents of Debal sent a person to Dáhar at Alór, informing him of the arrival of Bazíl at Nerún, and Dáhar hastened to send his son Jaisiah § with 4,000 soldiers on horses and camels, who came by hurried marches to Debal, and encamped there. Bazíl had already put to flight the warriors of Debal.|| But now Jaisiah came out with his forces and four elephants to give battle, and commenced fighting with the enemy. A pitched battle ensued which

* More properly pronounced Buzail.

† Now Haidarabad.

‡ Written as Dewal in the Tuhfatulkirám.

§ In the text this name is written as Jeblah here, and at the close of the book as Jaisiah. In the Tuhfatulkirám it is written as Jaisisiah. But undoubtedly the correct name is Jaisiah, as the origin of the name is given in the book lower down.

|| According to the Tuhfatulkirám Jaisiah was already in the fort of Debal at the time.

lasted from early morning to the close of the day. In the midst of the fight Bazíl's horse became frightened at the sight of the elephants, but Bazíl took off his own turban and tied the eyes of the horse, and made an onset in which he sent 80 *kafirs* to hell, and became himself also a martyr. Then Jaisiah appointed a *thakur* to be in charge of the place, and left him 70 elephants and conferred Deh Makrí upon him.

The news about Bazíl's martyrdom reaches Hajjáj.

It is said that when the news of Bazíl's martyrdom reached Hajjáj, he became very sad, and said: "O crier of the mosque, at every time of prayer, when you call the people, remind me of Bazíl's name, so that I may pray for him till I avenge him." A man is said to have come from the Arab army, and to have related to him how that battle was fought, and what deeds of manliness and bravery Bazíl had performed therein. "I was present," said he, "till the time he was killed and the army of Islam fled, and I witnessed his bravery and heroism." On hearing this Hajjáj said: "If you had been a brave man yourself, you should have been killed by the side of Bazíl," and he then ordered the man to be punished.

Traditions.

It is related on the authority of Abdurrahmán son of Abdríh, that when Bazíl was killed, the people of Nerún became restless with the fear that the Arab army, bound as it was to take revenge, would, when passing by Nerún, swoop down on them and destroy them. At that time a Samani was the governor of Nerún. (The Samani was frightened) for he sent men in his confidence to Hajjáj to seek his pardon for what had happened, and he fixed a tribute on himself, and undertook to send it regularly. Hajjáj, the governor of the Khalífah sent a letter of pardon, and cheered him with solemn promises. (But) "You must," said he, "release all the prisoners, or else I will not leave a single infidel up to the limits of China, and will make them all a prey to the sword of Islám."

When Hajjáj determined to appoint another agent for Hind, Amir son of Abdulláh applied for the post and Hajjáj said to him: "You covet the place, but the astrologers have found out after consulting their books, and

I too have learnt in my own way, by throwing dice, that the country of Hind will be conquered by Ámir Imádud-dín Muhammad Kásim son of Ukail Sakifí."

Appointment of Imád-uddín Muhammad Kásim son of Ukail Sakifí as agent.

The recorders of events and the relaters of news have stated that when the administration of the affairs of Hind and Sind was entrusted to Hajjáj son of Yúsif by the Khalífah, Hajjáj appointed Muhammad Kásim* who was his nephew and son-in-law, (Hajjáj's daughter being his wife) as agent for Hind. Muhammad Kásim was then a youth of seventeen. Congratulating him on his nomination to the high post of governor, Hamzah Hanafí uttered the following verses :—

Verses.—O people of Sód—Sód his birth place—verily Muhammad *bin* Kásim is brave and generous and wise. And on the 17th of Zulhij he has been appointed the leader of our army.

It is related by Abdul Hasan Hazlí, on the authority of Bashar son of Khálid, that after Bazíl was killed, Hajjáj wrote to Walíd the reigning Khalífah, asking permission to conquer Hind. The Khalífah wrote in reply :—" The people (of that country) are cunning and the country itself is very distant. It will cost us very large sums of money to provide a sufficient number of men and arms and instruments of war, and will require unusual skill and might to carry on the war, not to mention enormous provisions. This affair will be a source of great anxiety, and so we must put it off; for, every time the army goes (on such an expedition) (vast) numbers of Mussalmans are killed. So think no more of such a design." Hajjáj then wrote another letter in which he stated : " O Commander of the Faithful, the Mussalmans of Hind are prisoners in the hands of infidels, who have on one occasion put to flight the army of Islám. That (defeat) must be avenged, and the prisoners released. As for the distance of the country, and the cost of the expedition, to which you refer in your letter, we have men and

* In the Táríkh Maasúmí he is called Muhammad son of Kásim, and in the Tuhfatulkirám, Muhammad Kásim son of Ukail Sakifí.

arms and instruments of war, and other things all ready to hand; nothing more is required. I undertake (God willing) to pay back into the royal treasury (may God make it last long) double the amount spent on provisions and other items of expenditure for the army here."

Hajjáj's letter is received at the capital of the Khalífahs and the army gets permission to march towards Hind.

When the Khalífah read this letter, he wrote an order sanctioning the undertaking. (On receipt of this order) Hajjáj wrote a reply, in which he made the following request: "When you have honoured me by granting your permission, you will kindly order 6,000 men out of the chiefs of Shám (Syria) to come to this camp fully prepared, with all their arms and instruments of war and in all their pomp and glory, so that I may know the name of each when the engagement takes place. They should co-operate with me, and should never turn their face from battle."

Hajjáj writes an order to Syria.

Abdul Hasan states on the authority of Ishák son of Yaakúb, that Hajjáj wrote a letter directing that 6,000 men out of the descendants of the chiefs of Syria should join him--men who had both their parents living—men who were celebrated, and who were likely—for the sake of their name and fame—to give a good account of themselves when the actual fighting took place, and who were likely to prove loyal to Muhammad Kásim.

A tradition.

Abdul Hasan relates that 6,000 men, whose names were celebrated, did come. (But) one of these men came into the presence of Hajjáj and said: "I do not wish to go with this expedition." Hajjáj roared out to him angrily: "Be off from my presence or else I shall kill you." The Syrian (at once) ran away from before Hajjáj. He met some other horsemen who were coming by the same way. They asked him "whither are you going so fast?" His reply was: "I did not like to go, and Hajjáj has threatened to punish me." They brought the man back with themselves, and seeing a favourable opportunity they took him to Hajjáj, and said: When we have received your order, how dare we stay behind? Here we are ready to serve you."

On a Friday, Hajjáj delivered the following address to the assembled forces:—" Verily, time is changeful, and resembles a double-edged sword. One day it is *with* us, and another day it is *against* us. On the day on which it is with us, we ought to put our armies in order, and be prepared to meet and avert the calamity (likely to overtake us on the day on which time is against us). We should feel thankful to God, our great and glorified Lord, to whom there is no equal. We must recite his praise, and have full trust in his liberal kindness, in order that he may vouchsafe favours to us, and may not close any door upon us, and may make us recipients of merits and virtues in return for our thanksgiving." (In conclusion he said), " owing to excessive grief consequent on my separation from Bazíl, every moment, the ear of my mind catches a cry (for revenge), and I give a ready response to it. I swear by God that I am determined to spend the wealth of the whole of Irák, that is in my possession, on this expedition, and the flame of my fire will never go down until I take this revenge, and remove the blot from my name."

Hajjáj delivers an address on a Friday.

Then Hajjáj helped Muhammad Kásim to his horse, and gave offerings, and distributed vast sums of money among the troops, and sent them off to carry on the holy war in Hind and Sind. At their departure Hajjáj recited these verses :—

Hajjáj sends forth Muhammad Kásim.

> Hajjáj returned an answering shout to the cavalier Bazíl at the time when the enemy fell upon Bazíl.
>
> He (Hajjáj) girt up his loins (literally lifted up his skirt) when he returned the answering shout.
>
> (My brave soldiers !) do you also gird up your loins.
>
> I have sacrificed treasure tenfold—treasure which cannot be counted or measured.

Hajjáj further instructed Muhammad Kásim to march *viá* Shíráz, and to go by easy stages, so that all the forces might join him and not be left behind.*

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* The departure of this expedition took place in 92 A. H. (A. D. 710) according to the Tárikh Maasúmí.

At an auspicious hour, Muhammad Kásim halted at Shíráz, and encamped there, till all the detachments from Irák and Syria joined him. Here all the war apparatus such as battering-rams and catapults, and coats of mail necessary for fighting against a fort, were put in boats, which he gave in charge to Abu Mughairah and Hazím.* He asked them to be very careful about the boats, as in case of any harm being done to the boats, they would be personally held responsible for it and would be punished.

Arrival of the army at Shíráz.

Hajjáj wrote a letter to Muhammad Kásim in which he said "I have sent Hazím and Abu Mughairah, and have ordered them to join you in the vicinity of Debal. At that place you must make a halt till the arrival of the boats. Proceed under the protection and security of God. May Alláh watch over you and help you!"

A letter (from Hajjáj).

It is related by Isták Ayyúb and Halwán Kalbí that the preparations for the expedition and the arrangements for supplies were made by Hajjáj in the best way possible. He even endeavoured to provide more than what was required, in regard to the number of men and weapons of war.

A tradition.

Hajjáj said in a letter to Muhammad Kásim: "You have got everything ready, and now let every four horsemen take one camel with them. I give you strong loading camels to carry (each) a heavy load (of provisions) so that you may not stand in want of them. You ought to fear the great God, and consider patience as an ornament. When you arrive in the country of the enemy, encamp in plains and open fields that your movements may be free and extensive. At the time of battle, divide yourselves into detached columns, and then rush in from different directions, as you shall have to fight with veteran heroes. And when they make an assault, do you make a stand, and shower arrows at them. You must make such coats of mail for horses as to give them the appearance of wild

Supply of camels.

* As noted above also pronounced as Húzaim.

beasts, like the lion and the elephant." He ordered tailors and armourers to prepare several coats of mail in the shape of lions and elephants, and he forwarded them. These letters of Hajjáj, together with 6,000 horsemen, 6,000 camelmen, and 3,000 loading camels (duly) arrived at Shíráz, and Muhammad Kásim read the letters. That was in the year 72 after the Hijrah.*

Muhammad Kásim arrives at Makrán.

The writers of histories and the recorders of events state that Abdurrahmán son of Abdulláh has related the following on the authority of Abdul Malik son of Kais, who said : "I was with Muhammad Kásim when he arrived in Makrán and had an interview with Muhammad Hárún. Muhammad Hárún first went with Muhammad Kásim on foot (out of respect to him), but Muhammad Kásim made him ride a horse and then they went together to their camp. When they alighted Muhammad Hárún sent many presents and provisions to his distinguished guest, and he spoke very courteously and respectfully of the Arab general, saying, "with such an army and magnificence, and with such wisdom and skill and rectitude and ability, he is sure to conquer Hind and Sind."

Muhammad Hárún goes with Muhammad Kásim.

It is related by Baní Mustir Bahní that from there Muhammad Kásim started in the direction of Armanbelah,† and Muhammad Hárún also went along with him. Though he was not quite well he willingly joined Muhammad Kásim in his undertaking. But on account of the troubles of the journey, and repeated attacks of illness, he grew worse. When they arrived at the camp of Armanbelah, his life came to its close, and he gave up his precious soul to God. His body was buried at that place.

* This is again a mistake for 92 (=710 A. D.) as given in the Táríkh Maasúmí, according to which there were 3,000 foot soldiers and not loading camels as here, and 3,000 *dirams* (coins) are said to have been given to them for travelling expenses.

† This is the same as Armail, which I believe is the same as the present Belah in Lasbelah.

The army marches out from Armanbelah.

From there, Muhammad Kásim started with his army for Debal. At that time Jaisiah son of Dáhar was at Nerún. He wrote a letter to his father informing him that Muhammad Kásim had come from the Arab empire, with an army, and had arrived in the vicinity of Debal, and asking for orders to go and battle with him. Dáhar called the Aláfís, and made enquiries from them (about the Arab general). The Aláfís told him "Muhammad Kásim is a cousin to Hajjáj. He has a very large army with him, consisting of famous warriors, sons of nobles and chiefs, brave soldiers and horses, all well equipped and quite prepared to fight with you. Do not oppose them at all, for, a man from the family of Samah has just arrived and states that every horseman in this Arab army is come determined to take revenge against Dáhar." Hearing this Dáhar forbade his son to fight with the Arabs.

Muhammad Kásim receives a letter from Hajjáj Yú if at Armanbelah.

When Muhammad Kásim conquered Armanbelah, he received a letter from Hajjáj at that very place. It contained instructions in the following words: "When you arrive at stages, within the limits of Sind, and come within sight of Debal, be very careful about your camping places. When you arrive at Nerún, dig a ditch round your camp, that it may give you protection and safety. Be awake for the greater part of the night; and let those of you, who can read the Koran, be busy reading it, while the rest should devote their time to prayer and be watchful at the same time. Make taciturnity an ornament of yours. Be repeating the praises of the great and glorious God, and ask help of the divine grace that the most glorious and most high God may give you assistance. Seek His protection by often reciting the well-known religious saying: "There is no power nor virtue but in God, the great and glorious."* When you come in the vicinity of Debal, make a ditch, 12 cubits wide and 6 cubits deep.† When you face the enemy, be silent; and (even) if the enemy shout at you,

* This is the well-known saying: *Láhaól.*

† Gaz is the word used here, which is translated as a yard and as a cubit also. Properly speaking a *gaz* in Persian is equal to 6 fists (closed hands) or 24 fingers. Here I do not imagine the ditch was 12 yards wide and 6 yards deep.

and use obscene language, and assault you, do not engage in (a pitched) battle, till I send orders to that effect. You will be constantly hearing from me, and you must make it a point to follow literally the instructions I may give you, and the plan I may suggest. By taking my opinion as the right one, and following it, you will be successful in your undertaking, if the great God wills it.

The Arab army is drawn up, and another letter is received from Hajjáj.

When the expedition marched out from Armanbelah, Muhammad Kásim appointed Sáhib son of Abdurrahmán to lead the van, and Jehm son o' Kais Jaafí to bring up the rear. He put Utbah son of Saad Aófí in charge of the right wing, and Músa son of Sinán son of Salmah Hazlí in charge of the left. The remaining warriors and swordsmen and selected soldiers, who formed the flower of the army, were put in the centre to go in front of him. In this order, the army marched on till, on Friday, the 10th of Muharram of the year 73,* they arrived in the vicinity of Debal. The boats containing the weapons and implements of war also arrived, the same day, under Hazím† son of Amrú, and Abu Mughairah, and despatches from Hajjáj were handed over to Muhammad Kásim, who had ordered a big ditch to be made in order to fight with the enemy at an advantage. The contents of these despatches were as follows: "I have appointed very respectable men in your service. One of them is Abdurrahmán son of Salm Kalbí whose bravery and prowess have been put to trial on several occasions, and whom no enemy will ever be able to oppose in a skirmish or a battle. Another is Safyán Abrad, who is famous for his wisdom and rectitude, and is honest and righteous. There is also Kats son of Bark Kilábí, who is generous, honourable and true. In any task entrusted to him he will acquit himself creditably, and to your entire satisfaction. He is free from foibles, and has always been of great help to Hajjáj. Jarrah son of Abdulláh again is a man of vast experience, and has seen many battles. He is to be preferred to many a man of wisdom and learning. Then there is Mujashiah son of Naóbah Azdí. All these men are the pick

* This is again a mistake. It must be 93 (A. D. 711) and not 73. Muharram is the first month of the Muhammadan year.

† As said above also pronounced as Huzaim.

of my personal staff. I have no others more trustworthy and righteous than these. I am sanguine that they will never go against your wishes, and will never take the side of your enemies. Out of the men, to whom I have referred above in my letter, I may particularly mention Hazím son of Amrú than whom there is none dearer to me, on account of his bravery and lion-heartedness. He is one of the selected few, who are very honourable, and is known for truthfulness and honesty, like his father and his forefathers When Hazím becomes your friend, I shall not entertain any fear, since he is gifted by nature, with virtuous habits and an approved character. He will never allow any creature to work against you or to harm you. Never keep him aloof from you When you read my letters, neither eat nor drink till you have written a reply to me communicating the state of affairs there in full detail."*

Hajjáj was particularly fond of Amír Muhammad Kásim, and, owing to his excessive love, he, after Muhammad Kásim's departure and in his absenee, on several occasions, gave alms and offerings, and asked blessings for him Bakr son of Wájil, and Adíl son of Farah, were intimate friends of Muhammad Kásim. They sacrificed a camel for his safety and success, in his absence, and paid its price from the ornaments of their wives and daughters, in order that it should be a lawfully obtained property. Adíl read the following verses :—

Verses.—"They laid violent hands on the ornaments of their daughters,

Not leaving even their golden wristlets and necklets.

The girls, with their ears reft of pearls and rubies, almost lost their identity,

And could hardly be recognised when seen on their riding animals (donkeys).

The *Amirul Mominín* (Commander of the Faithful) sent the sacrificers an invitation (to take from him what they might need), but they did not accept the invitation and disobeyed the order."

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* The author of the Tuhfatulkirám states that Hajjáj had appointed fast runners to run between Baghdád and Sind in such quick succession that he used to get news from the seat of war in 7 days.

The far-seeing philosophers and the judicious sages have related on the authority of Abul Hasan, who said that he had heard it from Abú Muhammad, a freed slave of the Banízam'm family, that Muhammad Kásim arrived in the vicinity of Debal, and ordered a ditch to be made. The troops unfurled their banners, and sounded their kettle-drums, and their several divisions encamped at the places appointed for them. Catapults were (also) taken out and fixed. One of these especially belonged to the Commander of the Faithful, the Khalífah. Its name was "the *Wee* Bride."* It required a force of 500 men to work its recipient and active portions for discharging stones. In the heart of Debal there was a magnificent idol-temple, of a towering height, with a dome built on its top, and a green silken flag fixed on it. The building of the temple was 40 cubits high, and the dome on it was also 40 cubits in height. The flag-staff when hoisted was of the same length. The banner had four tongues or ensigns, each flying in a different direction, and appearing like so many towers suspended from above. When the army of Islám was in sight, this fourfold flag was removed from the top of the pole, and the occupants of the fortified town came out to give battle. But the Arab forces were not permitted to engage with them. In this manner 7 days passed away, and the Arab army remained encamped in one place. Every day letters were received from Hajjáj, in which they were asked to wait. On the 8th day, however, the letter of permission came, and immediately Muhammad Kásim arrayed his army and made an assault, and the enemy's force was compelled to seek protection within the walls of the fort. All of a sudden, then, a Brahmin came forth from the garrison, and cried for mercy. He said: "May the just Governor live long! We have learnt from our science of the stars that the country of Sind will be conquered by the army of Islám, and the infidels will be put to flight. But be it known to you that the standard of the idol house, yonder, is a talisman. As long as that standard of the temple stands in its place, it is impossible for the fort to be taken by you. You must, therefore, try your best to blow off the dome

Arrival of the Arab army at Debal.

* Arúsak is the original word which means "a little bride."

of this temple, and break its flag-staff into pieces Then only your success will be complete."

Hearing this, Muhammad Kásim called his Engineer Jaúbat Salmí, and said: "Can you manage to break this flag-pole and the dome of the temple with the stones of the mangonels? If you can I shall give you a reward of ten thousand *dirams*." Jaúbat said: "Let two ram-rods be removed from that special catapult of the Khalífah, called the 'Wee Bride,' and with three stones I will blow off the flag and the pole, and break the dome of the temple" Muhammad Kásim said: "If you break the flag-pole of the temple I shall give you 10,000 *dirams* by way of reward; but if you not only fail to break down the temple but spoil the catapult in the bargain, what should be your punishment?" Jaúbat replied: "If I miss the mark, then let the hands of Jaúbat be cut off." Muhammad Kásim, thereupon, wrote a letter to that prince of Governors, Hajjáj son of Yúsif, in which he mentioned the conditions fixed by Jaúbat. On the ninth day, the reply was received, *viâ* Kirmán, sanctioning the acceptance of the terms fixed between them. It also contained the following fresh instructions: "When you advance in a body for battle, see that you have the sun behind your backs, as (then) its glare will not prevent you from having a full view of the enemy. Engage in fight on the very first day, and supplicate the help of the great God. If anyone of the people of Sind ask for mercy and protection, do give it to him, but not to the residents of Debal, whom you must not spare on any account."

Jaúbat the Engineer blows off the flag-pole and the idol temple of Debal.

Just then one of the soothsayers of the place came out of the fort and said: "I was always in the habit of consulting the books of fate, and when I came to know that the kingdom of Hind had come to its close, and that the rule of Mussalmans was about to commence, I consoled and comforted the Mussalman prisoners and women in the fort, with the news of the advent of the army of Islám. Now, if the general gives a writ of pardon to me and promises to spare the lives of my family and children, I would go back and cheer up the spirits of the prisoners." Muhammad Kásim complied with his request, and gave him pardon. He was then

sent back to inform the prisoners, that the followers of Hajjáj had come up, that the fort would soon fall into their hands, and that they would soon set them at liberty.

The next day, which was the ninth after their arrival at Debal, when the sun rose from his eastern abode, Muhammad Kásim called Jaúbat, and the mangonel was removed to the place which had been appointed (by the latter), and the army was arrayed at the positions marked out for the different divisions, and a general assault was made on the fort from every direction; and volleys of arrows were shot and 500 men were brought to pull the ropes of the Khalífah's catapult. Jaúbat shot the first missile, and the Mussalmans uttered their war-cry : "God is great." With the first blow the banner was torn asunder and was severed from the pole. The second missile was, under the order of the general, aimed at the dome of the temple in which the pole was fixed. The pole and the dome were broken into pieces, and the talisman of the magicians was frustrated, and the Debalese were much frightened and, as ordained by the great and glorious God, the fort was (eventually) levelled to the ground. Muhammad Kásim distributed his army in different directions. First he posted Jehm son of Kais Jiafi to the east of the fort, and Atá son of Malik A'sní to the west. Banánah son of Hantalah Kilábi was ordered to fight towards the northern wall, and Aón son of Talet Dimishkí towards the southern. The main or central body was put in charge of Zakwán son of Alwán Bakrí, Hazím and Abu Mughairah. Thus divided, the Arabs pressed from all directions. The first man who got over the ramparts was Saadi son of Khazímah of Kúfah. Next to him was Ajil son of Abdul Malik son of Kais Dariti of Basrah. When thus the army of Islám scaled the walls of the fort, the Debalese opened the gates and asked for mercy. Muhammad Kásim replied that he had no orders to spare anyone in the town, and that the armed men had to do slaughtering for 3 days. Jáhín son of Masáid managed to throw himself out of the fort at night time.* Dáhar son of Chach had already sent horses and camels for him. When he came out, he rode on to the river Mehrán and arrived at

* Jáhín seems to be the Governor in charge of the fort of Debal. He is called Jáhín Budh lower down.

a place called Karmití, which was situated on the eastern bank of the river. From there, he sent a messenger on an elephant to Dáhar to communicate to him the sad news of the fall of Debal. Dáhar asked the man: "Where is Jáhín Budh?" The man replied: "At Karmití," which word means saltish earth.* Hearing this ominous name, Dáhar said: "May dust lie on your head! No evil name should be mentioned in the presence of kings lest they interpret it into a bad omen. Do not say that he has come to Karmití, that is to me" (for he has left to come to me and your words may imply that I am like salt earth).

Then Muhammad Kásim came to the temple. Those who had taken shelter in the temple wanted to close the door, and burn themselves to death. The two door-keepers, however, were dragged out and killed, and entry was then made. 700 beautiful females, who were under the protection of Budh, were all captured with their valuable ornaments, and clothes adorned with jewels. Four men at a time were admitted into the fort. Some say 400 men came in at once, and took away by force their ornaments.

The Brahmin, who was given pardon by Muhammad Kásim is brought before him.

Muhammad Kásim then desired to see those men to whom he had tendered pardon When they came, he told them: "Now bring out those male and female Mussalman prisoners whom you have so long detained as hostages, those who were captured in the boats coming from Sarandeb; also those of the army of Bazíl, who were taken prisoners, and men confined in your prison-house." They were immediately brought out, and set at liberty. Then he appointed those men who had been confined in the fort of Debal, to be in charge of the occupants of the fort, saying: "As they have so long been in prison, they may now well enjoy some rest and pleasure as some amends for their past troubles and sufferings; let them experience happiness (now) at the hands of ever changing time, and try their best to keep watch over the fort and its occupants."

The party of prisoners is brought out.

At the head of the Hindís of Debal was a person by name Kublah son of Mustrayeh. He was a wise and ingenious man, a teacher of Hindús, a clever writer

* Khári-mitti is the correct Sindhi compound word to signify salt earth

and a man of thorough knowledge. The prisoners of Bazíl's party and of Sarandeh had been under his keeping and control. Muhammad Kásim called this man and ordered him to be punished But he said: "O Amír, first enquire from the Mussalman prisoners as to how I have been treating them, and how I have been trying my utmost to console and comfort them. When your Excellency learns this, my life will be spared."

Then Muhammad Kásim called his dragoman, and told him: "Ask this man what kindness he did to the prisoners." The man replied: "Make that enquiry from the prisoners themselves that the real state of things and the truth of my assertion may become known to His Highness." Thereupon, Muhammad Kásim ordered the prisoners to be brought to him. He then asked them: "What kindness and sympathy has this Kublah shown to you, oh prisoners?" All of them said: "We are much obliged to him. He did all he could to mitigate our misery and to comfort us. He used, at all times, to console us by giving us hopes of the speedy arrival of the army of Islám and of the conquest of Debal." Muhammad Kásim then called upon him to accept the religion of Islám, and on his agreeing to the proposal Kublah was exalted to the honour of Islám, by his repeating the formula of the Mussalman faith regarding his belief in the unity of God and the prophetship of Muhammad.* He was appointed superintendent over the accountants or revenue officers of Debal, who were now ordered to seek his advice in administrative matters, and to render account of the collections as well as of the expenditure to him, while Hamíd son of Daraá Najdí was made a supervising officer over them all, and the entire administration of the province was entrusted to him.

Muhammad Kásim asks the translator to interpret.

It is related by the writers of history, on the authority of Hakam son of Urwah, who heard it from his father and grandfather, that the name of the Brahmin who had prayed for and received pardon was Sud-dev,† and that it was from him that Hakam's grandfather received

Distribution of the spoils of Debal (both cash and slaves), and the taking out of the fifth share for the Government.

* What is called the kalmah, *viz.*: "There is no God but God and Muhammad is the apostle of God."

† It may be Shudh-dev.

the following piece of information, namely: When Debal was conquered and the Mussalman prisoners were released, the slaves were brought out, and Muhammad Kásim ordered one-fifth of the spoils to be set apart in obedience to the religious law, and sent to the royal treasury. Accordingly the fifth part of the booty secured at Debal was sent to the treasury of Hajjáj, while the booty secured at the conquest of Arman Belah was distributed among the troops, according to their merit and rank—a horseman receiving double the share of a camelman or a foot soldier. What remained of the cash and slaves and other spoils was collected and sent to Hajjáj along with the two daughters of the ruler of Debal.

Rái Dáhar gets the news of the conquest of Debal.

The historian goes on to state, on the authority of Hakam, that when Rai Dáhar received the news of the conquest of Debal by the army of Islám, and the flight of the ruler of Debal to Jaisiah at Nerún, and also heard a good account of the bravery and prowess of the Arabs and the Syrians and the complete success of their arms, he wrote a letter to Jaisiah, who was in the fort of Nerún, ordering him, on reading the letter, to cross the Mehrán and go to the ancient city of Brahmanábád, leaving the Samani in charge of Nerún, with instructions to take care of the fort, and protect it against the attacks of the enemy.

Muhammad Kásim encamps at Arman Belah.

Muhammad Kásim now determined to carry on war at Arman Belah, in order to clear his way for his advance into the interior of the country. When he reached his camp, he received a letter which Rái Dáhar had written to him. The letter ran thus: "In the name of the great God, the lord of Unity and the God of Seláij.* This is a letter from Dáhar son of Chach, the King of Sind, and the Sovereign of Hind and the ruler over land and water, to Muhammad Kásim, the vain insane one

* At first sight the letter would appear to have been written for Dáhar by one of his Arab servants who used "Bismilah" to please himself and "the God of Seláij" to please Dáhar. But later on it appears that Muhammad Kásim had to use the services of a translator and so the letter was probably not in Arabic. The first part of it is not a little curious, but perhaps Dáhar was an Adwitt.

who is fond of killing and slaughtering people, and is merciless towards his own army and has brought ruin on many other men. Some time ago another person had also come hither in the same manner with absurd dreams in his head, and with an awful and terrible presence. Abılás son of Hakam had also joined him, and he was led away by the vain idea of conquering Hind and Sind, and bringing those countries under his sway. But one or two of our meanest Thakurs, who then happened to go on a hunting excursion in the vicinity of Debal, killed him and his army was put to flight. It appears that the same mad thoughts have risen in Muhammad Kásim's head, and he will ultimately bring ruin upon himself and his army owing to his foolhardiness. Be it known to you that the fortified town of Debal which you have taken is an insignificant town, where only traders and artisans reside. It contained neither a strong fortress, nor was it occupied by a garrison of any importance with whom it was worth your while to fight. If there had been a single note-worthy warrior in it, there would not have been left a rack of you behind. If I had sent against you Rái Jaisiah who is the most victorious of all the rulers on the face of the earth, and who can wreak vengeance on the strongest men of this age, or the king of Kashmír who is the mighty possessor of a crown, kettle drums and standards, on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind have placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind and even the country of Makrán and Turán, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees, who is the owner of one hundred elephants and is the rider of a white elephant, whom neither a horse can stand against, nor a man can put pressure upon; if I had sent these heroes against you, you could not have done the slightest harm to them and no army would have dared to pass through the remotest limits of this country, till the end of the world. Do not flatter or deceive yourself with vain dreams, since the end of your enterprise will be the same as Bazíl's. You can never stand against us in battle, nor should you hope to return safe from our wrath."

When Muhammad Kásim received this letter of Dáhar, he had it translated to him by his dragoman, and learning its contents, he dictated the following reply :—

"In the name of the most merciful and gracious God. Letter addressed by Muhammad Kásim Sakifí, the avenger of Mussalmáns, to the haughty, the rebellious, the crafty Brahmin Dáhar son of Chach, a foolish, stubborn and vainglorious infidel. This is to inform you that I have received your letter, which you have written out of excessive ignorance and folly, being led away by a weak and miserable policy, of which you have evidently become madly proud. I have acquainted myself with its contents, express and implied, and have informed myself of every thing that you have written relating to your power and pomp and numbers and weapons and elephants and horsemen and followers. We depend entirely upon the grace of God for power and strength, and on the favour of our sovereign for the number of our forces and for glory. 'There is no power nor virtue but in God, the great and glorious one.* They play a trick with thee in their own way† and then they do not depend upon it. Verily I trust fully in God, who is my maintainer as well as yours.‡ They lay a plot for them, but God is the best layer of plots.§ The plot of the wicked does not recoil except upon those that lay it.|| If God wishes it, a small number of men overpowers a large number; and God is with the patient.' ¶ You are proud of men and horses and elephants, but what are they? The biggest elephant is the weakest and most helpless of all creatures. He cannot get rid of a gnat, which is the smallest and weakest of all animals. As for horses and horsemen, whom you admire so much, they are an army of God. 'But mind, God has many armies which are most powerful; ** the league of God and its Judgments are always successful.'

Muhammad Kásim's letter to the infidel Dáhar.

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* These words are often repeated by Mussalmans when excited by fear or anger.

† This is from the Koran. Sale's translation is "they devise some plot against thee" (chap. 12, part 12).

‡ From the Koran (chap. 11, part 12).

§ Alkoran (chap. 3, part 3); also (chap. 27, part 19).

|| Alkoran (chap. 35, part 22). Sale's translation is "but the contrivance of evil shall only encompass the authors thereof."

¶ Alkoran (chap. 2, part 2). Sale's translation is "How often hath a small army discomfited a great army by the will of God? And God is with those who patiently persevere."

** Alkoran (last words of chap. 58, part 28). Sale's translation is "These are the party of God: and shall not the party of God prosper?"

As to what you say about our coming, with armies arrayed for battle, know that that is wholly the result of your wicked deeds and bad manners and vain-glory, for you seized and detained the boats conveying valuable property from Sarandeb, and made the Musalmans prisoners. All the countries of the world acknowledge the rule and superiority of the Khalífah, who is the vicegerent of the Prophet. All pay allegiance to him, while you turn your head from him and rebel against him. All the former rulers and kings regularly paid tribute to his royal treasury, while you have stopped it. As you have thus befouled yourself with ugly manners and unpleasant habits like these, and have swerved from the path of obedience, and have taken such bad behaviour to be unobjectionable, I have received the ever-to-be-obeyed mandate from the Khalífah to exact vengeance for those wicked deeds of yours, and to carry on war with you (to the bitter end). I do hope that, with the help of the great God, who is the most powerful of all, in whatever place you may meet us and oppose us, I shall defeat and degrade you, and ultimately take your head to Irák, or sacrifice my life in the cause of the great God. I consider it my bounden duty to carry on this religious war, in obedience to the orders of God who says in the Koran: 'wage war against the infidels and dissemblers';* and I have undertaken this task simply to secure divine pleasure. I expect fully from the unbounded kindness of God, that He will help us and give us victory over you. God's will be done. Written in the 73rd year." †

After taking Debal, Muhammad Kásim goes to Nerún.

The narrators of traditions and the recorders of histories have stated on the authority of Banánah son of Hantilah Kilábí that, when the conquest of Debal was complete and large spoils were secured, Muhammad Kásim ordered the battering rams to be put in boats and taken to the fort of Nerún. Accordingly the boats (with their burden) were put under way in the lake, called the

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* Alkoran (Chap. 9, part 10). Sir Sayad Ahmed the founder of the Aligarh College has written a pamphlet to prove that the Koran does not enjoin war against those who believe in the one God. The texts in the Koran are held by Sir W. Muir to be applicable only to the infidels in Arabia.

† Again a mistake for 93 A. H. (711 A. D.)

lake of Sangrah, while he himself went by way of Sísam.* When he arrived at Sísam, he received Hajjáj's letter, in reply to his own letters respecting his first victory.

A letter from Hajjáj Yúsif to Muhammad Kásim.

"From Hajjáj son of Yúsif. O Muhammad Kásim, you must know that our mind assures us that our wishes and hopes will be fulfilled, and you will be successful in every way. You will be successful and victorious, and by the grace of God, the great and glorious, your enemies will soon be vanquished and punished and will repeatedly be overtaken by present torment and future misery. Do not, pray, entertain the evil thought that all those elephants and horses and wealth and other property of your enemies will be your lot. Live happily with your friends, and treat every one kindly. Encourage them all to believe that the whole country will be yours. Whenever you take any fortified place, let your soldiers spend according to their wants. Let the booty be utilised for the necessary expenditure of the army, and for keeping up the pomp and circumstance of war. Let them eat and drink as much as is good for them. Do not scold them or prevent them from doing so. Exert yourself to the utmost to supply provisions in abundance, and fix the rates, so that corn may be had cheap in your camp. Whatever has been left behind in Debal had better be spent in supplying the troops with provisions than in laying up stores in the fort. When you have conquered the country and strengthened the forts, endeavour to console the subjects and to soothe the residents, so that the agricultural classes and artisans and merchants may, if God so wills, become comfortable and happy, and the country may become fertile and populous. Written this 20th day of Rajjib 93." †

The people of Nerún get the news of the conquest of Debal and a letter is received from Hajjáj son of Yusif.

It is related, on the authority of Abillais Tamímí that Jaubat son of Ukbat Salmí gave the following narrative :—"I was with Muhammad Kásim, when the fortified town of Debal was conquered,

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* It is said that at that time the main stream of the Indus flowed eastward of the town of Nerún (now Hyderabad) most probably through the present bed of the Fuleli (*vide* also the Sind Gazetteer).

† A. D. 711. This is correct and so the previous mistakes as to years are clearly proved now. In the Sind Gazetteer the year given is 712, which is wrong. Rajjib is the 7th month of the Musalman year.

and (also when) he advanced towards the fort of Nerún. When the Arab army was defeated, and Bazíl became a martyr, the people of Nerún settled the terms of peace with Hajjáj, promising to pay a fixed tribute. When Muhammad Kásim left Debal he went straight to the fortified town of Nerún which was about 25 leagues from Debal. This distance he travelled in 6 days. On the 7th day, he arrived in the vicinity of Nerún, and encamped in a meadow known by the name of Balbár. The floods of the Sehún,* that is the Mehrán, had not yet spread out to that place, and so want of water was felt by the troops, who began to complain of thirst. Muhammad Kásim offered prayers, by making two genuflexious and saying: "O guide of the misguided and the surprised, O hearer of complainants and distressed ones, hear my prayer. 'In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious.'" Instantly there was a downpour, by divine order, and all the tanks in that town were filled with water.

The people of Nerún now closed the gates of the fort. The Samaní, who was the ruler of the place and headman of the people, had gone to Dáhar, and Muhammad Kásim became very anxious owing to the paucity of provisions for the army, especially of forage for animals. But, after 5 or 6 days, when the Samaní returned, he sent two leading men with a letter from Hajjáj. He also sent provisions for men and horses to the Arab camp. Through those two men, he sent verbal messages to the Arab General, saying:—"I myself and all my men are subjects of the Khalífah, and we hold this place subject to the command and in accordance with the terms of the letter of Hajjáj. In fact we owe our permanent position to his help and patronage and encouragement, but as I was absent, the people became afraid and closed the gates." Then the Samaní opened the gates of the fort, and the natives began to make bargains and have dealings with the soldiers. Muhammad Kásim was thereupon so much pleased that he wrote a letter to Hajjáj, acknowledging, with thanks, the services rendered by the Samaní and informing him of the faithfulness and friendship of the people of Nerún. In reply, Hajjáj wrote a very kind letter recommending the conciliation and encouragement

* This is an Arab name given to the Indus. In fact any great river may be called Sehún or Jehún.

of the people. "Try," wrote he, "to show kindness to them in every way and give them hopes of our patronage. I entertain full confidence that, with the grace of God, wherever you may go you will be successful. Whoever seeks mercy and protection from you, let him have it. Those of the nobles and great men who take your side and join you, honour them by giving them robes of honour and make them grateful to yourself. Give proper rewards to them, and respect them according to their rank. Make reason and discretion your guide, so that the chief men of the place and the notables of the neighbourhood may repose complete trust in your word."

Muhammad Kásim sends his confidential men to Nerún.

Then Muhammad Kásim sent some trustworthy men out of his nobles and chiefs to the fort of Nerún with the following message :— "At first we were much annoyed to see the gates of the fort closed against us, but, on hearing the explanation of the ruler's absence, our anger subsided, and every kindness and favour was shown to you. It behoves the head of the town, Bhandarkan Samaní,* to take heart of grace and muster courage to come to us so that we may try our best to patronise him and bestow fresh favours upon him."

The Samaní comes to Muhammad Kásim with provisions and presents.

The next day when the true dawn appeared from behind the dark curtain (of the sky) with a cloak of ash-coloured satin, the Samaní came to the presence of Muhammmad Kásim with many presents and plentiful offerings, and obtained an honourable reception. To entertain Muhammad Kásim as a distinguished guest, he supplied him with provisions to such an extent that the soldiers got sufficient corn for their needs. Muhammad Kásim then appointed a representative within the fort. He (also) built a mosque in the place of the idol-temple of Budh, and appointed a crier to call the people to prayer, and a priest (Imám) to be their guide in prayers and other religious matters. After some days, he resolved to go to Síwistán.† That fortified town is to the west of the

* So then Bhandarkan is the name and Samaní is the name of the tribe or class to which he belonged. As said elsewhere, in Persian, Samaní has come to mean a priest, a monk or a hermit.

† If Síwistán is the present Sehvan then it is not on a hill, but the citadel of the old town might have been on the neighbouring hill.

Mehrán on the top of a hill. Muhammad Kásim entertained hopes that the whole of that country would be conquered by the Musalmans. After that end was attained in regard to the country of Síwistán, he thought of returning thence and arranging to cross the river, in order to proceed against Dáhar. He prayed to the great and glorious God to give enlightened reason and right thought to the people of Arabia for their guidance, and to make it possible for them to fight successfully against the infidels.

An account of the conquest of Síwistán and some other places attached to it and the taking of the fort.

When Muhammad Kásim had completely settled the affairs at Nerún, he prepared to go to Síwistán, and he, accompanied by the Samaní, started for that place. He travelled, stage by stage, till he arrived at a town called Maój, about 30 leagues from Nerún.* In that town, there was a Samaní, who was a chief among the people. The ruler of that fortified town was a cousin of Dáhar Chach, by name Bachehrá son of Chandar. On the approach of the Arabs, the Samaní party assembled, and sent a message to Bachehrá, saying:—"We people are a priestly class (Násiks), our religion is peace and our creed is good will (to all). According to our faith, fighting and slaughtering are not allowable. We will never be in favour of shedding blood. You are sitting quite safe in a lofty palace; we are afraid that this horde will come and, taking us to be your followers and dependents, will deprive us of our life and property. We have come to know that Amír Hajjáj has, under the order of the Khalífah, instructed them to grant pardon to those who ask for it. So when an opportunity offers, and when we consider it expedient, we shall enter into a solemn treaty and binding covenant with them. The Arabs are said to be faithful† to their word. Whatever they say they act up to and do not deviate from." Bachehrá refused to accept this advice, and paid no attention to what they said. Then, Muhammad Kásim sent a spy to gather information as to the inclinations of these men, whether they were all unanimous or whether there was a difference of opinion among them. As some of the residents of the fortified town were ready to fight, and, with that inten-

* 30 *kos* according to the Tuhfatulkirám, a *kos* being about 2 miles.

† According to the Tuhfatulkirám this message to Bachehrá was sent by the Samaní at the suggestion of Muhammad Kásim.

tion, had issued out of the town, Muhammad Kásim encamped on the sand-hills near the gate of the town,* since there was no other open field for a battle and there was a flood of rain-water all around, and to the north the river of Sind was flowing.

War with the people of Síwistán.

Muhammad Kásim ordered the battering rams to be put in working order, and the fight then commenced. The Samaní party reprimanded Bachehrá and forbade him to fight, saying:—"This army is very strong and powerful; you cannot stand against them. We do not wish that, through your obstinacy, our life and property should be endangered." As he still rejected their counsel, the Samaní clique sent a message to Muhammad Kásim, telling him: "All the people, whether agriculturists, artisans, merchants or other common folk, have left Bachehrá's side and do not (now) acknowledge allegiance to him, and Bachehrá has not sufficient men and materials of war, and can never stand against you in an open field, or in a struggle with you." On receiving this message, the army of Islám became over-zealous, and Muhammad Kásim ordered the assault to be continued steadily night and day. Thus, after about one week, the occupants of the fort ceased to fight.† When Bachehrá found that the fort was in great straits and that it could not stand long, he determined to leave it. So when the world was hid behind the pitch-dark curtain of night, he issued from the northern gate, and crossing the river, fled away. He did

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* There are several sand-hills near the present town of Sehván.

† One of the chief tribes of the division of Síwistán that submitted to Muhammad Kásim was that of the Chanás. According to the Táríkh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám, the part of the country in possession of this tribe was called Ashrí. At first they sent a spy to the camp of the Arabs and he came there at a time when the whole army was standing in lines to offer their prayers, with their general at their head as Imám or leader. The man was struck with the drill-like order and union of the Arabs, and, on his returning to his tribe he communicated to them what he had seen. The people then became favourably inclined towards the Arabs, and went in a body and surrendered. It is said that when they arrived in the Arab camp, trays of food had been laid out and the Arabs were going to have their meals, so Muhammad Kásim received them gladly and gave them the nick name of Marzúk, *i. e.*, provided with daily food or guests, as if God had sent them opportunely to receive their subsistence there.

not stop till he reached Budhiah. At that time, Kákah son of Kótak Samaní was the ruler of Budhiah. He resided in his fort of Sísam, which was situated on the bank of the Kanbah. The people of Budhiah and the headmen of the neighbouring places came forward to receive him, and he alighted at their request in front of the fort.*

Síwistán taken possession of and the disappearance of Bachehrá.

When Bachehrá made his exit, and the Samaní party placed their heads under the yoke of allegiance, Muhammad Kásim entered the fort of Síwistán. He appointed his own officers and agents to carry on the state affairs, and he left the suburban towns also in their charge. He collected silver and gold wherever he could find them, and also secured ornaments and cash from the people, excepting those of the Samaní party with whom he had made a solemn compact. He then distributed among the army of Islám what was due to them out of the spoils, and taking one-fifth gave it to the treasurer of Hajjáj, and sent the booty and the slaves, with a report of his victory to Hajjáj, and himself remained there. After two or three days, when he was free from the work of distribution and had given away the army's share as well as the Khalífah's one-fifth, he proceeded to the fortified town of Sísam in pursuit of Bachehrá. The people of Budhiah and the ruler of Síwistán arrayed themselves in battle. Muhammad Kásim posted a party of men under his Síwistán agent in the outskirts, and himself with the remaining army alighted at a place called Budhan on the bank of the Kanbah. The suburban residents of the place were all *káfirs.* When they saw the army of Islám, they conspired to make a nocturnal attack on the enemy and put them into confusion.

The headmen of the place come to Kákah.

The Budh headmen came to Kákah Kótak and other princes of Budhiah (whose origin was from Gang, commonly known as Dandohar) and held consultation with them. They said :—" we have all come to the conclusion that we should make a night attack on this Arab army."

* According to the Tuhfatulkirám, Bachehrá fled to Budhiah Chana son of Kákah son of Kótak, who was the ruler of Sísam.

Kákah replied: " If you can do so, well and good, but seers and hermits have informed us from their books of astrology, that this country will be conquered by the army of Islám." He then appointed a respectable man, named Bahsabbí, as their head, and ordered the Jats to form their column. One thousand brave men, experts in the use of the sword, were selected, all fully armed with swords and shields and javelins and halberds and daggers. When the Grecian (fair) army of the day fled away from fear of the Abyssinian (black) army of the night, this band of warriors started with intent to make a nocturnal assault upon the enemy. But when they were close to the Arab camp, they lost their way. The whole night from evening to morning, they wandered about in perplexity and confusion. They had divided themselves into four parties, but neither the advanced party met the one in rear, nor the right wing joined the left wing. All were turning round and round in the desert. Whenever they came out of the jungle they found themselves in the vicinity of the fort of Sísam. When the collyrium-coloured cloth of the dark night was torn by the king of stars, with the uprising of day,* they came back to their fort, and informed Kákah Kótak that they had failed in their undertaking. Kákah said: " You know very well that owing to bravery and prowess, and skill and wisdom, I have become the chief of all of you. I have performed many difficult tasks with ability and credit among you, but those skilled in the science of stars have now declared, after consulting the books of Budh, that Hindustán will be conquered by an army of Islám. I am determined to go forward, and receive it with due respect."

Kákah Kótak goes to Muhammad Kásim with Banánah Khautalah and submits to him.

So Kákah, with some chief men and his personal staff, set out for the Arab camp, and after he travelled a short way he was met by Bananah Khantalah† whom Muhammad Kásim had sent with the

* One cannot but observe that the learned writer of the Chachnámah is very particular in using metaphorical phrases about morning and evening and day and night, every where in the book; otherwise the style of the book is very simple.

† Khantalah is the proper name and not Hanzalah as wrongly written in some copies.

advanced detachment of his army, and who took Kákah to Muhammad Kásim. Muhammad Kásim gave him a robe of honour, and showed much kindness to him when honouring him with an audience. Kákah then related to him how the nocturnal attack had been designed, and how he had excused himself from joining it. He also informed him how the great God had led his party astray so that they had been roaming about that whole night in darkness and humiliation. "Our astrologers and interpreters of dreams," said he, "have found out by means of the astronomical science, and have openly given out that this whole country will fall into the hands of the army of Islám. When this miracle* was witnessed by us, we became sure that it was (really) the will of God and that no other person will ever be able to oppose you, or to stand against you. You should be in every way easy at heart and cheerful as you are sure to be victorious. I have already submitted to you, and will be a counsellor of yours, and, to the best of my ability, your friend and guide, in overpowering and humiliating your enemies and ill-wishers."

When Muhammad Kásim became aware of these facts, and heard Kákah's speech, he praised the great and glorious God, and humbly bowed on the ground in acknowledgment of His kindness. He spared Kákah with his whole family and followers and he then asked Kákah: "O nobleman of Hind, what mark of distinction and honour is customary among you that I may bestow it on you." Kákah said: "Our mark of distinction is a chair, and our dress of honour is an Indian cloth of silk which we tie on our head as a turban. That is the customary important part of the dress of our chiefs and of the headmen among the Samanís." Accordingly this (last) was presented to him. When Kákah put on this dress of honour, all the noblemen in the surrounding places became favourably inclined to him. He secured, for those who submitted, immunity from injury by the Arab army. But against those who remained stubborn and disobedient, he led the Arabs in order to punish them. Muhammad Kásim appointed Abdul Malik son of Kais Dakíkí his representative (Shahnah) to subjugate and punish those who were re-

* That is the going astray of the army.

fractory, and Kákah pressed hard upon the rebels and captured many spoils, money, stuffs, animals, slaves and food-grain, so that plenty began to reign in the camp.

Muhammad Kásim now left that place, and came to the fortified town of Sísam. He carried on fighting there for two days and then, at length, the great God gave him victory and the unbelievers were put to flight.

Bachehrá son of Chandar and cousin to Dáhar, and his Thakurs and chiefs who formed his retinue lost their dear life in trying to accomplish their sinful deeds. (Some of) the rest fled higher up to Budhiah while some went to the fortified town of Bhallór between Salúj and Kandáíl,* and from there applied for pardon and mercy. Those who were against Dáhar, having lost some of their party in the late battle, immediately turned their faces from his allegiance, and engaged some messengers to bring about peace with the Arabs. They undertook to pay a tribute of 1,000 *dirams* of silver in weight, and sent hostages to Síwistán.

Despatches are received from Hajjáj son of Yusif, the Mehrán is crossed, and war with Dáhar commenced.

When Muhammad Kásim fixed tributes on this part of the country, he passed an order to guarantee protection and safety anew to the people. He appointed Hamíd son of Widáa Najdí and Abdul Kais of the family of Harúd (his representatives) and left the management of (local) affairs to their good sense and fidelity. When he finished his business at Sísam, Muhammad Kásim received despatches from Hajjáj, who wrote as follows: "Now give up other towns, and come back to Nerún and arrange to cross the Mehrán and march against Dáhar. Seek help from the great and glorious God that he may grant you victory and success. When you gain that victory all the other fortified towns, far and near, will naturally fall into your hands, and then there will be nothing to hinder you in your career of conquest."

When Muhammad Kásim read this letter and learnt its purport, he returned to Nerún.

* The Tuhfatulkirám says they went to Bhaltór and Salúj and Kandáíl.

After travelling many a stage, he halted by a fort, which was situated on the hills of Nerún. There was a pond in its vicinity whose water was brighter than the eyes of lovers, and whose meadow land was more pleasant than the garden of Iram. There Muhammad Kásim pitched his camp, and wrote the following letter to Hajjáj son of Yúsif:—

The arrival of the Arab army at Nerún.

"In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. To the exalted court of the great Amír, the learned sage having no equal, the crown of religion, the shield of Ajam* and Hind, Hajjáj son of Yúsif. This servant Muhammad Kásim, after paying proper compliments and respects, begs to state that this true friend of yours, with all the noblemen and retinue and attendants and the Mussalman armies and troops, is quite safe and sound. Our affairs are all managed very well and we are all feeling quite cheerful and happy. May it be known to Your Highness that after travelling through deserts, and by distant and dangerous stages, we arrived in the country of Sind, and we are (now) encamped on the bank of the Sehún, which is called the Mehrán. The part of the country from Budhiah up to the place opposite the fortified town of Aghrór on the Mehrán has been conquered, but the castellated city of Alór is still in the possession of Rái Dáhar. Those who proved refractory and head-strong were brought under control, and the rest being frightened, have fled. When the ever-to-be-obeyed order of Amír Hajjáj was received, directing us to return, we came back to the hilly fort of Nerún. This fortified town is nearer to the capital of the Khalífahs. We entertain strong hopes that by means of the assistance of God, the kindness of the king and the good luck of the Great Amír (Hajjáj) we shall conquer many more strong forts of the infidels, and take possession of their towns and treasures. Only recently the forts of Síwistán and Sísam have been taken, and Dáhar's cousin, with several brave men and nobles, has been driven out. It is hoped that all the forts of the infidels will be conquered and taken possession of, and in lieu of the *káfirs'* places of worship,

Muhammad Kásim's letter to Hajjáj son of Yúsif, informing him of the state of affairs.

* Every country other than Arabia was called Ajam by the Arabs, as the Greeks called others Barbarians. More especially, Ajam is Persia.

mosques and (Mussalman) prayer-houses will be built, and pulpits for calling the faithful to prayer and preaching sermons constructed, in order that the obligatory services may be performed at stated times, and morning and evening the great and glorious God be remembered and praised, as is directed by the text of the Koran, *viz.* :—' Keep up prayers at the declension of the sun and towards nightfall and the prayer at day-break, &c.'* It is also hoped that idols and other signs of idolatry will be removed and clean swept off, with the help of God and the blessing of that verse of the Koran which says : 'If God help you none will overpower you.'† Further the servants of the devils and their forces will be subdued and degraded and pushed away to Hell, and there subjected to severe tortures. For the present we have encamped in the vicinity of a fort which surpasses the strong wall constructed by the Grecian Alexander ‡ We depend for power and protection on God the great and the glorious. This letter is submitted to Your Highness (may your greatness last long !) in the hope that distinct orders and positive commands will be issued. We are anxiously awaiting them and are quite ready to obey whatever instructions are given under the guidance of God. Let it also be known to the generous prince, that there is one of the tributary rulers under Dáhar, who is the owner of the fortified town of Bet, to the east of the Mehrán, on the bank of a rivulet in an island of the gulf of Khánlehat and is called Basámi Rásal. All the chief officers and noblemen of Rái Dáhar, as well as most of the princes of Hind and Sind are under his influence, and have a strong and solemn compact with him and they implicitly follow his guidance. From the party of Debal, that came over and joined us, we learnt that this prince, by the grace of God, has been advising and inducing every one of these great men and nobles to submit to us. They have (now) great confidence in us, and have sent us humble messages promising to be loyal to us. If the great and glorious God

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* Alkoran (chap. 17, part 15).

† Alkoran (chap. 3, part 4). The whole verse is "If God help you, none will overpower you, but if he desert you, who is it that will help you after him ? Therefore in God let the faithful trust."

‡ This refers to the wall said to have been built by Alexander to stop the invasions of Yájúj and Májúj (Gog and Magog). This is also mentioned in the Korán.

brings this measure to its consummation, and they faithfully render allegiance to us, the difficulty of crossing the river Mehrán will be removed, and we can then very easily and successfully achieve our object under the guidance of the Great God."

To the above letter the following reply was received :—

Muhammad Kásim receives a letter from Hajjáj.

"In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. I have received the letter of my dear son Karímuddín* Muhammad Kásim (may God perpetuate his power and dignity) which was adorned with a variety of deferential and respectful language. I quite take in the state of affairs, as described in your letter. But why, my son, don't you use your discretion and act according to your own reason and good sense? I earnestly wish you to overpower in battle all the princes of the East and bring destruction on the unbelievers. Why have you become dilatory and dispirited in doing this work? I know you are able to overcome their villainy, and I hope that their plots and evil designs will be frustrated. He (Dáhar) wishes to send away the army of Islám, but you should take heart Spend as much money as you can. Give them large rewards and presents. Do not disappoint those who want estates and lands, but comply with their requests. Encourage them by giving them written promises of protection and safety. You must know that there are four ways of acquiring a kingdom—1stly, courtesy, conciliation, gentleness, and alliances; 2ndly, expenditure of money, and generous gifts; 3rdly, adoption of the most reasonable and expedient measures at the time of disagreement or opposition; and 4thly, the use of overawing force, power, strength and majesty in checking and expelling the enemy. Try to grant every request made by the princes and please them by giving them solemn promises. When they submit and settle a tribute upon themselves, receive from them whatever they bring for the treasury, whether money in coins or any shining metal; and show them favour in

* This seems to be the titular name of Muhammad Kásim. The Arabs as a rule have 2 or 3 more names of which one is the real personal name, another a family name, a third a tribal name, and so on.

every way. If you want to send an envoy to the enemy, first test his wisdom, faith, intelligence and honesty, and let not Islám suffer from his going or speaking. Protect yourself from and guard against the misfortunes (arising) from the stratagems and plots and arts of the enemy; and be very cautious and careful in the disposal of important affairs. Be careful, when Dáhar sends a confidential envoy to you; be wary in mixing and associating with him, and give him sound counsel. When he presents himself before you to deliver his message, let him say what he has to say in the presence of your grandees and nobles, and in a meeting of your wise counsellors. Let him not depart disrespectfully, and let him have plain answers to his questions. Let not his error or hypocrisy deceive you. Always encourage your messenger and envoy by giving him fair promises, and telling him that the whole army of Islám regards him as their leader or forerunner, and depends upon what he utters, and so he must deliver his message honestly and carefully. The messenger of the Musalmans should be a man of pure faith, who should speak fearlessly and faultlessly and invite and induce the infidels to accept the true creed, and belief in the unity of God. Whoever turns to the unity of God and submits to you, let him have back his property and wealth and estate; and whoever does not submit to Islám, treat him harshly and cause injury to him till he submits. Again, if any person, having once submitted to you, withdraws himself from your allegiance, you must make him understand that, as he has taken out his head from the yoke of submission he must be ready for an onslaught. Do not allow (the enemy) to cross the Mehrán at their will. Tell them that if they would come over to your side of the river they would not be checked, and that you, having come from a very long distance, have the right to cross the river freely and without any hindrance and confront them in battle. Make such arrangements that there may be no doubt or misunderstanding, on this point, between the two parties. Wherever you meet the enemy, in order to give them battle, let the battle-field be an open plain, so that foot-soldiers may move freely in it in fighting against foot-soldiers, and horsemen against horsemen. Above all, when you are engaged in fight put your trust in God's kindness. Catch hold of that ring of the chain firmly and you need have no fear of a

fall. Then wait patiently, and see what the Divine Providence and fate brings out from behind the curtain of mystery, and what orders the king passes (for your guidance). If they send a message to you asking whether you would cross the Mehrán or whether they should, give them no choice or authority. Tell them that you would cross the river first, so that your enemy may be overawed, and they may know that if the army of Islám was not sufficiently strong and powerful it would not venture to meet them on their own ground. As for your own men, let not the Arab troops that are under you entertain any hope of returning, and let them not turn their face from battle. They should fight with the utmost zeal and depend entirely upon the kindness of God for the issue. They should be fond of battle and fight manfully and make a firm stand. They should be true and faithful in warring against the enemy and in co-operating with you. Then only the great and glorious God will be pleased with them. You should select a place for crossing the river, where it would be possible to put a strong and stable bridge, and make your passage. After consultation (with your officers) and after taking tests, take every necessary precaution and care. After you cross the river, at once array your army in proper divisions—the right wing, the left wing, the centre, the van and the rear. Send your infantry ahead. Do not leave the armours of your animals to be carried by the main body. (But) God knows better (than man)." When this letter of Hajjáj was received, Muhammad Kásim determined to cross the river and took measures for the purpose.

Rái Dáhar receives the news of Muhammad Kásim's arrival at Nerún.

Meanwhile Rái Dáhar questioned the scientific men of Hind and the astrologers and philosophers of Sind, saying: "I have just heard that Muhammad Kásim has come down as far as Nerún and has encamped in the outskirts of that fortified town, with a large army and is ready for battle. What do you find from your books of history and astrology and what information do you get from the position of stars with regard to the (present) time and the revolution of the year"? The astrologers, after praising him, said: "May the king live long! we have come to know from ancient books and histories of the past, and the system of astrology

as founded by the philosopher Jamasb* that, in one of the months of the year 92, the fortified town of Nerún will fall into the hands of the army of Islám, and in 93, the whole of Hindustán, with all its forts that are superior in strength to the mighty wall built by Alexander, will be the property of the Mussalmans, and that victory is to be gained by Muhammad Kásim. That predicted time has drawn very near." Then Rái Dáhar asked Samaní Budh, who was the ruler of the fortified town of Nerún, to go to Nerún and to inform him about the state of affairs there. Accordingly, the Samaní came to Nerún, and accompanied by 5 chiefs went to Muhammad Kásim in the Arab camp. He took with him the letter of Hajjáj, and made Banánah son of Khantalah his intercessor. When the message was duly delivered, Muhammad Kásim said: "I am ready to obey this written order, but I regret to say that when our army arrived here, the gates of the city were closed against us. This has produced a very bad effect upon our minds. When you claimed to be our allies, it was not proper for you to close the gates of the city against us, and cause (thereby) great scarcity of corn in our camp." Hearing this, the Samaní gave excuses, and appealed to the general's reason and good sense, saying: "The management of our affairs depends upon the will of Rái Dáhar, and as I was not present here, the people were much confused, on your arrival here, and feared lest, on your return to the place, you might cause some harm to the residents of the city. But as soon as I came here, I duly discharged the duties of friendship and allegiance. I am much obliged to you, and am ready to do as you are pleased to direct."

Muhammad Kásim gives a dress of honour to the Samaní of Nerún.

Then Muhammad Kásim gave him a dress of honour, showed many favours to him, treated him very kindly, and sent him back. The Samaní went back and opened the gates of the city and sent presents and offerings to Muhammad Kásim. Then the troops entered the city to make purchases and to carry on bargains. The next day when the king of stars appeared in the blue vault, Muhammad Kásim mounted a horse, and, accompanied by his chiefs and nobles, came to the gate of the city. He

* This is the Persian philosopher, often confounded with Zoroaster. Here again the Arabs make Hindus fire-worshippers.

built a mosque in place of the idol-temple,* and performed two genuflexions. He appointed a man of the family of Zahal, from amongst the people of Basrah as his deputy in the city, and then left the place. He called the Samaní to himself (in order to utilise his services), when crossing the river of Sind. Some of the chief men of Rásal Samaní, and several headmen of the Bhattís came forward to do homage to Muhammad Kásim, and seek his pardon. He concluded a treaty with them on the terms stated in the letter of Hajjáj. Then he proceeded to the fortified town of Ishbhá. It was in the month of Muharram 93 † that he arrived in the vicinity of that town. The fortress was strong and impregnable, and its inmates were quite ready for a fight, and had made a deep moat round it. They had called the Channás and other country people living in the suburbs to the west, to come and take shelter in the fort. Muhammad Kásim commenced warfare by laying siege to the fort. The people held out for a week, during which time they were wavering what to do. But after that period, they were obliged to surrender and beg for mercy. Those who submitted fixed a tribute on themselves and opened the gate of the fort, and Muhammad Kásim, accompanied by his trustworthy staff, entered the fort and handed over the keys to some of his confidential and faithful officers, and appointed an honest man to administer the fort. He wrote a report to Hajjáj about his conquering that fort and giving pardon to, and sparing the lives of, the warlike tribe of Channás. After staying for some time in that town, and leaving a representative there, he proceeded to the country of Ráor, and alighted on the bank of the river Mehrán on the western side, where he was joined by Jásen ‡ the ruler of Bet.

A tradition.

Historians have stated that when Dáhar was informed of Muhammad Kásim's arrival in the country of Ráor and Jitór, he enquired as to the exact place where the Arabs had come. Upon being told that they had come within the limits of Ráor and Jitór, he said "The Arabs are pressing us hard, undoubtedly fortune is in their favour."

* I believe the author means that he laid the foundation stone of the mosque.

† 711 A. D. Muharram is the first month of the year.

‡ I believe this is Jahin, which name has come above also.

Muhammad Kásim now sent a messenger to Mókah son of Basáyeh to tell him that the district of Jortah was granted to him as his estate, and that he was confirmed as ruler of that part of the country.

Dáhar learns of the treaty of Mókah Basáyeh.

A man came to Dáhar and informed him that prince Mókah Basáyeh had surrendered to Muhammad Kásim who had sent a messenger to him and concluded a treaty with him. It was said that through the messenger sent to him, Mókah had sent a reply to the Arab general, saying: "I have learnt all that you have said. I am highly obliged to you for the kindness you have shown us. Believe me, I have full trust in the promises given by you, and I am sincerely well disposed to you with all my heart, and my mind is bent upon paying you homage and submitting to you. We wish to seek your good pleasure above all and in every thing; we will never turn from the path of obedience and we consider it one of our duties to be submissive (to you). But you must know that it is far from honesty and righteousness to revolt against kings, and break the promise made to them without any fault on their part, particularly when they have been treating their allies kindly. It is wicked and ungrateful to abandon all considerations of honesty and fidelity unless such a desperate peril is impending that one's life is in danger."

The request of prince Mókah son of Basáyeh.

Mókah son of Basáyeh continued his reply to the messengers of Muhammad Kásim as follows:—"Besides, the country of Sind is our native country and the country where we live. It is an acquisition of our fathers and grandfathers and our heritage. There is consanguinity between us and Rái Dáhar. He is a king over other kings of Hind. We are sure to derive no small pleasure and advantage from whatever harm he may cause to your exalted position, and in all matters involving his happiness or misery, it should be our duty to stand by him and to co-operate with him. We are equally affected by his pleasure and pain and we are partners in the same country. But reason and wisdom suggest, and (mystic) philosophy proves that this kingdom will ultimately go out of our hands and be transferred to others. The sages and philosophers of Hind, who are the original residents

of this country, have found from their books of antiquity, by the use of their astrolobe and their astrology, that this empire will be conquered by an army of Islám and will come into its complete possession and that its leader will be prosperous, successful, sagacious and courageous. The reason is that whenever any great event happens or any misfortune overtakes him, he gathers experience at each such occurrence, and becomes wiser, so much so that if, owing to the slipping away of some favourable opportunity a calamity is likely to fall upon him, he is not at a loss to find some way of escape for himself. When you have taken me into your confidence, and have thought it becoming to show favour to us, honesty and fairness require that I should speak the truth to you, and that is, that if I surrender to you voluntarily without any show of fighting or opposing, my enemies will reproach me for it and I shall thereby bring my noble family into disgrace. Now, I am going to Sákra on the pretext of celebrating the marriage of my daughter. General Muhammad Kásim (may his honours be permanent) may order about 1,000 horsemen to march and stand on such and such a road, and when I pass by that place they should come and capture me, and bring me to his presence. In that way I shall be free from any blame or reproach. Then people will not say that I became a renegade, and Dáhar will not suspect any foul play. He will believe that I have been dragged away by force and violence."

Muhammad Kásim sends Banánah son of Khantalah in accordance with the suggestion of Mókah son of Basáyeh.

Muhammad Kásim fully believed what Mokah son of Basayeh said, taking his word to be true. Accordingly, on the day appointed by Mókah, Muhammad Kásim sent Banánah son of Khan talah Kilábí with 1,000 horsemen, armed cap-a-pie, on chosen studs to the appointed place. He himself also left his quarters, and moving to the vicinity of that place, pitched his camp; and Mókah, too, taking some horsemen with him, started for the place.

Mókah son of Basáyeh goes with his Thakurs.

Bananah Khantalah with his men and an interpreter came to the road and halted there. Not long afterwards, Mókah Basáyeh was taken prisoner, together with 20 brave Thakurs and other men.

When he was brought before Muhammad Kásim, the latter received him with marked distinction. He gave him the province of Bet as his own estate, and, at his request, passed a written document to that effect with his own signature and handed it over to him. He also gave him 100,000 *dirams* by way of a present and a green peacock—coloured coronet, a throne and a dress of honour. To all his Thakurs also he gave robes of honour and horses, and consoled them with many other presents. The authors of histories have stated that the coronet of Ranáship, that is to say, princedom given to Mókah was the first of its kind ever given by the Arabs. And the whole province was at Mókah's request ceded to him and his descendants as private property by letters patent. All the country within the boundaries of Bet, together with its outskirts or villages attached or annexed to it, and cultivated fields became his. On his side, Mókah promised to collect and supply boats, as desired by the Arab General.

Muhammad Kásim sends a Syrian messenger and Maolána Islámi to Dáhar.

Muhammad Kásim then encamped on the bank of the Mehrán. From there he despatched an embassy under one of the Syrian noblemen, and a native of Debal who having been at first a prisoner had subsequently received the honour of Islám at the hands of Muhammad Kásim. This native gentleman was called upon to serve as an interpreter to the Syrian, and explain the Syrian's speech to Dáhar, and Dáhar's to the Syrian. "When you commence delivering the message," said Muhammad Kásim to the Debalese convert, "do it in a meeting of respectable men and nobles of the place, and call for a decisive reply, as is ordered by Hajjáj in his letter." Accordingly when the Syrian and Maolána Islámí, as the Debalese convert was called, went into the presence of Dáhar, the latter of the two envoys entered without making a bow, or paying any respects to Dáhar. Dáhar recognised him, and asked him: "why do you not observe the Court etiquette usual on such occasions? Is it that you are under some pressure and are prevented from doing so?" The Debalese convert replied:—"Formerly I professed your religion and so it was obligatory on me to make the obeisance due from a servant to his master. But now I have been honoured with the glory of Islám and I am attached to the king

of Islám. It is therefore unbecoming in me to bend my head before a *káfir*."

Dáhar's menace to the native envoy.

Hearing this, Dáhar said to the native envoy: "If you had not been an envoy, I would have punished you by ordering you to be killed." The Debalese convert said: "If you are determined to kill me, I have nothing to say in my defence. There are some retaliators, who will avenge my death. They will return you like for like." Then the Syrian commenced his speech. "We are the envoys of the Amír," said he, "and have been sent to you, in order to deliver his message to you in the presence of princes and chiefs." "Speak," said Dáhar, "for a messenger is merely the deliverer of a message; he merely does his duty in obeying the command of his master." The Syrian said: "Amír Muhammad Kásim has said: 'make your choice, either cross the river to us and in that case the passage will be left open to you and you will not be prevented or checked, or else keep the way open for us, so that the Arab army may cross the river and march against you.'"

Consultation of Dáhar with Wazír Siyákar.

Dáhar consulted his Wazír Siyákar * as to what should be done in the matter. Wazír Siyákar said:—"On several occasions, I have given such counsels to the king, in important affairs, as I considered to be proper and necessary for the well being of the king. What followed these counsels is already known to Your Majesty. When I gave my opinion advising that a place be fixed for crossing the river and the army be sent in advance, you paid no attention to it and would not accept it. To-day when a crucial stage is reached, you are preparing to advance to give battle, and (are likely to) put yourself into trouble. Now, let their whole army cross over to this side and let the two armies engage in fight. The sovereignty of this country is yours. You have absolute dominion over cities and treasuries. You have provisions and arms and materials of war ready with you. Every kind of help will be cut off from him (Muhammad Kásim). When once the waters of the Mehrán are behind their backs, no one can come at their call to assist them. They will be

* This man is first mentioned here. He appears to have been the successor of old Budhiman.

helpless like prisoners in your hands; all the doors of escape by machination or stratagem will be closed on them, and all the followers, attendants, door-keepers, horses and materials of war will fall into your hands. That is what my reason deliberately suggests."

Now there was a man of the family of the Aláfís, who belonged to the army of Syria. He had fled for some fault that he had committed, before the arrival of the Arab army in Sind, and had entered the service of Rái Dáhar, attaching himself to him. Dáhar now called this man and asked his advice in this affair.* "O Muhammad," said he, "Wazír Siyákar counsels in this way; what do you think to be the best plan?" "O king," replied Muhammad Aláfí:—

> *Verse.*—'Do not let them cast their lines in these pleasant places——for here are broad acres and here plenty prevails.'

It is not a right step to allow their forces to cross over. All of us are against it; because the Arab army consists of a very large number of warlike cavaliers and brave soldiers, who will make a firm stand to maintain their prestige and fame, and sacrifice their dear lives in the 'ways' and for the pleasure of God. They will earnestly pray to God, the great and glorious One, for His kindness, expecting to go to the everlasting gardens of paradise by means of this religious war and martyrdom. They will not let themselves be killed till they have wreaked vengeance on us. When they come prepared to fight, they will never retreat or turn back till they one and all become the food of the blood-thirsty sword. If they cross over to this side, they will catch hold of the skirt of your majesty and become partners in the kingdom. A great calamity and catastrophe will then ensue. Every day their power and grandeur will go on increasing, and under your very eyes your subjects will, out of fear, beg for mercy from the Arabs, and to save their lives and property they will be obliged to seek some other shelter. So it is best for you to let them be on the western side of the river, and let the Mehrán serve as a screen between us and them. We must not in any way consider their coming over to this side of the river as a good thing. You should order the boatmen on the river and the

* There was no need of these introductory words, for we already know this man and recognise in him our old friend Muhammad Aláfí.

Jats and other country tribes on the plains to watch them, and to stop the roads by which they get supplies of provisions for the army, like grass and grain and firewood; and to seize these articles wherever they find them, and to molest the stragglers of their army, who may separate themselves from the main body. In this way their ranks will be thinned. Some of them may die of hunger, and some of want of clothes and other necessaries of life. Their horses will have no grass, and their horsemen no money, and so they will be reduced to straits and be dispersed, and they will no more trespass on your kingdom. When their hordes are scattered and dispersed, your country need have no fear and you yourself will be safe."

Aláfí's advice to Dáhar.

The person who has related this affair says: "I was present in that assembly and was one of the by-standers. I had even been given the privilege of taking a seat there. I heard with my own ears and understood clearly what Aláfí said to Dáhar, directly, by way of advice, and what arguments he urged in support of the usefulness of his plan. Dáhar's reply to him was: 'Whatever suggestion springs from your mind cannot but be one for our good and well—being. But my mind suggests that I should give Muhammad Kásim the choice with regard to crossing the river, lest it be imagined by him that we are in perplexity and have become very weak and powerless.'"

The message of Rái Dáhar.

Dáhar, then, sent back the Syrian Ambassador, telling him: "Turn you back and tell your Amír: 'In the matter of crossing the river, he has the choice. We are keeping ourselves ready to fight with him. Either you cross over or we will do so.'"

The envoys return to Muhammad Kásim.

The envoys then returned to Muhammad Kásim and communicated to him the reply of Rái Dáhar. The Arab General said: "Depending on the great and everlasting court of God I accept the choice." He then remembered the great and glorious God, and, praying to Him for His help, he left with the whole of his army and encamped on the western side of the Mehrán opposite the fortified town of Ráor. He sent for Mókah Basáyeh, and

deputed him, with some of his own trustworthy men, to choose a place from where to cross the river; and also to secure some boats for the purpose. "Arrange in such a way," said he, "that we may not have any difficulty in passing over these waters of the Mehrán, or be troubled, in the passage, by the enemy standing on the opposite side of the river. I am determined not to take the army across until I receive the orders of Hajjáj in reply to my letters." Accordingly he halted there for some days and wrote a detailed report on the subject. He was soon favoured with a reply.

Muhammad Kásim receives a despatch from Hajjáj son of Yúsif.

Letter from the great and honourable Hajjáj son of Yúsif to the great and honourable Amír, the pillar of faith, Muhammad Kásim. "After compliments let it be known to you with reference to what you have written about crossing the Mehrán and fighting with Rái Dáhar, that I indeed entertain hopes that with the Divine help you will be victorious and successful and your enemy Dáhar will be defeated and vanquished. When you stand face to face with your enemy, I trust that, by the grace of God, no bolt of evil-eye will smite any of you from the revolving skies, for at all the five times of prayer, and on every occasion, whether I am in company or alone, I regularly pray for you, and succour you with my blessings, in order that the great God may give you victory over the unbelievers and may make your enemies vanquished and put them to flight, that whatever has been ordained by destiny may favourably come to pass, and that should happen which is the best and the most desirable. With humility and supplication I always pray to the august Court of the great God, saying: 'O Lord, you are the Sovereign, besides whom there is no other master or ruler. Grant power and grandeur to the army of Islám in every way, and give it your help and make it successful.' So I have full hopes that, by the grace of God, you will gain your object. Cross the river in any way feasible, then supplicate the help of God, and find shelter in His kindness and mercy. The result will be that your plans will enable you to get through all difficulties. When you array yourselves against the enemy, be steadfast in seeking the Divine pleasure that our object may be fulfilled. In any way you can, do cross

the river. Show your bravery and heroism, and success and victory will attend you, and Divine power and protection will help you. With the assistance of angels, the swords of Mussalmans will naturally overpower the unbelievers. The great and glorious God will make those beings of unclean and wicked nature food for the swords and lances of the angels and the faithful. The doors of Divine wrath are open against them. They will be visited by heavy vengeance and will receive a severe flagellation. When you wish to cross the river, first examine carefully the crossing-places on the banks. Secure such places on other streams and lakes (also). Let those of the natives of the place, who live in boats, be won over by solemn promises, and recognize their services in a deserving manner. After these arrangements are made, you may cross the river, and, when you have crossed it, and the river is behind your back, be watchful lest the enemy, on the other side of the river, do you harm. When you approach their cities and towns and forts, no one will dare to stand against you or to fight with you. If any one dare to face you, he will surely bring ruin upon his own precious life. If the enemy take shelter in some fort, considering themselves quite safe therein, the great and glorious God will, when you come in sight, give you help and victory, and you will take it. Your sword will cause so much fright and terror in their hearts, that their weapons will be of no avail to them, and you will completely overpower them, and gain victory over them. When they run away, take possession of their kit and treasures, but be on your guard against their plots and artful tricks, and be not self-conceited and self-sufficient. If any one of them is inclined to the path of Islam and receives the honour of Islam, treat him kindly and teach him the principles of the Faith. Behave in such a way that no enemy of the true faith is left in that country. You will not be held responsible by God for shedding their blood. Make a habit of reciting the following prayer which is acceptable to God:—'In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. O God we ask thy help, because thou art God, the living and the self-subsisting. Neither slumber nor sleep seizeth thee. To thee belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with thee, but through thy good pleasure! Thou knoweth that which is past and that which is to come to us. And we cannot

comprehand anything of thy knowledge, but so far as thou pleasest. Thy throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto thee. Thou art the high, the mighty,* and we ask thy help because thou art the only God, the eternal God. Thou begettest not, neither art thou begotten; and there is no one like unto thee.† Through thy favour, who art the beneficent, the maintainer of men, the creator of men, the conqueror of men, the powerful over men,‡ and from thee, is to be expected goodness and kindness. Thy words are perfect. We shall enjoy thy favour only when we feel grateful for thy kindness, acquire the knowledge of thy truth and act up to thy pleasure and satisfaction.‡' Now peace be on you, and God's mercy and His blessings. Written in the year 93."§

Muhammad Kásim reads Hajjájs' letter and gives a public address to his friends.

Muhammad Kásim went through the above letter, and read it out to his friends in a public meeting. Preparations were being made to find out the crossing-points to cross the river and to fight with Dáhar, when another letter was received. It ran as follows :—" In the name of God, the most merciful and gracious. This is a letter from the high council (*majlis*) to Muhammad Kásim. After the communication of compliments, let it be known to you that your enemies have vanity in their heads. Never fear them, for victory is reserved for you. I give you discretion to make peace if an amicable settlement is made

* These seven verses are what are called "The verses of the throne" from the Koran (Chap. 2 para. 1) with the change of the personal pronoun to adopt them for the prayer. Sale's note on this passage is as follows :—

"These seven lines contain a magnificent description of the Divine Majesty and Providence. But it must not be supposed the translation comes up to the dignity of the original. This passage is justly admired by the Muhammadans, who recite it in their prayers, and some of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious stone."

† This is the 112th chapter (part 30) of the Koran with the personal pronoun changed. Sale's note on this chapter is as follows :—

"This chapter is held in particular veneration by the Muhammadans and declared by a tradition to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Koran."

‡ In the original, the word 'faces' is used throughout which often means "men" on the principle of a part representing the whole.

§ This part is not from the Koran, but is sometimes used in prayers, along with the text of the Koran.

§ 711 A.D.

on favourable terms after solemn promises, and tribute is sent to the treasury of the Khalífah. As for the permission to cross the river and to fight with Dáhar, you have already been informed that you may cross it from that point where you expect the least trouble and loss to your men. Or rather draw a sketch map on paper showing the length and breadth of the portion of the river within about 4 leagues above and below the (various) crossing-points, which should also be marked on the bank on which they are situated. I may then select one point and you must cross the river from there, so that no harm may be done to the troops."

On getting this letter, Muhammad Kásim called Mókah Basáyeh and asked him to arrange for crossing the river.*

Rái Dáhar comes straight to the bank of the Mehrán.

The learned men of Hind who have given a narrative (of the war) have stated, on the authority of a Brahmin, who said that he had heard it from Madás son of Hubiyeh Tamímí (a man then, in Ráor), that when Dáhar heard of Muhammad Kásims encamping at Jitór,† he ordered a litter to be placed on his elephant and he forthwith got into it, rode to the bank of the river, and stood opposite the army of Islám. The waters of the Mehrán flowed between the two adversaries. Muhammad Kásim marshalled his army. One of the Syrian soldiers, who was a clever hand at arrow-shooting wanted to plunge his horse into the river and discharge an arrow at the enemy. But his horse shied at the sight of water and would not go near it. Meanwhile Rái Dáhar took up his bow, which was so strong and stiff and large that no one but himself could string it? He pulled the string on it tightly, fixed an arrow on it, and discharged it with all his force. Straight went the arrow and hit the horseman, passing through his coat of mail and piercing his navel, and he fell down dead from his horse. Dáhar, then went

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* According to the Tárikh Maasúmí, Muhammad Kásim crossed the river at Tatta in order to go to Alór, and not about Jitór as mentioned in the next para.

† In the Tuhfatulkirám this name is written as Jiór, but the correct name is Jitór, as the origin of the word is given lower down.

back and ordered Jáhín Budh to post himself at the ferry landing, on the bank of the Mehrán, opposite the fort of Bet, and to watch the enemy lest they should cross the river from there. "Let them" said he "come down to the river from another place where the water may be deep and where there may be plenty of mud and slough. You must keep your boats ready to harass them, and subject them to losses when they attempt to cross the river." Accordingly Jáhín took up his position on the bank of the river in order to check-mate them. Meanwhile some horsemen belonging to the army of Islám, who had been left in charge of Siwistán arrived, and reported to Muhammad Kásim that Chandram Hálah, who some time ago, had been the ruler of Siwistán had, in conspiracy with some Thakurs and native officers of the place, caused a revolt, taken possession of the fort and driven away the Arab soldiers.

Maasab goes to Siwistán.

On receiving this information, Muhammad Kásim despatched a detachment of 200 foot and 1000 horse under the command of Maasab son of Abdurrahmán, in that direction. When this force arrived in the vicinity of the fortified town of Siwistán, Chandram issued forth and gave them battle. When the army of Islám made an attack upon the rebellious band, Chandram's force fled and he himself wanted to throw himself into the fort, but the people in the fort closed the gates against him and would not let him in, and he went to Hell. The next day Maasab came to the town, and priests and merchants and artisans and other men of respectability flocked to him and began to excuse themselves, saying:—"It is no fault of ours; a robber chief came here and suddenly threw himself into the fort." When Maasab was satisfied on this point, he made peace with them. Then they opened the gates to him, and handed over the fort to him. When the news of this victory was carried to Muhammad Kásim, he was much delighted. As for giving pardon to the residents of Siwistán about which Maasab had written to him, Muhammad Kásim said:—"It would have been better not to have spared them. Now, you must appoint honest and trustworthy men and try your best to protect the fort. Take good hostages from the priests and merchants and other notables. Bring along with you 4,000 warlike

men from Siwistán." Following this behest, Maasab son of Abdurrahmán, after appointing officers and confidential agents and taking 4,000 armed men with him, arrived in the Arab camp, and that same day Mokah Basayeh joined Muhammad Kásim opposite the fort of Bet.

Jaisiah Dáhar comes to the fort of Bet opposite Muhammad Kásim Sakifí.

When Dáhar came to know for certain that Mókah Basáyeh had surrendered to Muhammad Kásim and had joined his camp, he sent for his son Jaisiah, and Jaisiah came to the bank of the river with a large number of men and instruments of war, and weapons, in boats by the small river of Kótak. Muhammad Kásim had encamped on the opposite bank at Jhim and Kóhal, where he had halted for nearly 50 days, during which period grain and grass had begun to fail, the supply of provisions for men had been nearly consumed, and the army had become perplexed and anxious. Diseases broke out among the horses on account of their using different kinds of fodder, and every horse that was attacked by disease was killed and eaten. The enemy were meditating to lay every kind of plot to bring the Arabs into trouble, and when Dáhar got this news he became overjoyed. He sent a man to Muhammad Kasim advising him not to seek a miserable end.

The message of Rái Dáhar to Muhammad Kásim Sakifí.

"It is quite clear," said Dáhar to the messenger sent to the Arab General, "it is quite clear that the end of the whole of your enterprise has after all proved miserable and ignoble, and through your indiscreet behaviour the relations between you and us have become very much strained. Provisions are scarce in your camp now. If you repent and come to terms, I may send you (the necessary) supplies, so that your companions may not die of hunger and want. Look now. Whom have you, to stand against us and fight with us? And what of your military appliances now?" Muhammad Kásim replied: "I am not one of those leaders who would turn back on this account. I can only come to terms and make peace with you, when you send to the Treasury of the Khalífah the tribute of the many years that you have been so long obdurately withholding and

and stubbornly evading. Otherwise, with the help of the great God, I shall take your head to Irák."

Muhammad Kásim then wrote a full report to Hajjáj son of Yúsif, informing him of the mortality among the horses, the scarcity of fodder and other provisions and the absence of boats for crossing the river. In order to know the real state of things in the Arab camp, Hajjáj ordered a man by name Tayyár to go and make secret enquiries, and to communicate to him the result. Accordingly, Tayyár started and came to Makrán where he saw a person coming from the Arab camp. He asked him whence he was coming. He replied that he was coming from the camp of Muhammad Kásim. He then asked him the news of the place. The man said that the Arab army had suffered much and was still suffering badly from scarcity of grain and fodder for horses, and from the disease that had broken out among the animals and was carrying off large numbers of them. He gave him a very vivid account, and assured him that owing to these discouraging circumstances, the Arab army was very much perplexed, and ill at ease.

Return of Tayyár.

Tayyár took with him the man who gave him this information, and starting on his return journey, duly communicated the same to Hajjáj. Hajjáj Yúsif became very sad and afflicted at heart on hearing it. He came to his residence and called his nobles and learned men and sage philosophers, for consultation When he came out again, he asked Tayyár to bring the Sindhí messenger to his presence, that he (the messenger) might personally give an account of what he had seen and pondered over. Accordingly, the man was taken to Hajjáj when the latter was at leisure. Hajjáj asked him : "Whence do you come" ? "From Sind," replied the man. "What do you know about Muhammad Kásim (and his troops)," enquired Hajjáj again. "They are all quite well and safe," said the man. "Only a sort of leprosy broke out among the horses and many fell victims to it. I left the place after that calamity was over. Now corn is cheap there, and those of the horses that escaped the ravages of the fell disease, are quite healthy. The merchants of that country are importing corn from outside. Mókah

Basáyeh, the ruler of Bet, is steadily managing that affair." Then Hajjáj said: "My envoy gave me a different version." The Sindhí messenger replied:—"He heard an account from me but it was not a complete one." "Why did you not" asked Hajjáj, "give him complete information?" "Because," answered the man, "I did not think it proper that the public should cast an evil eye upon the army on hearing such joyous news and both our evil wishers and well wishers should become acquainted with it." Then Hajjáj sent that man with a letter to the capital of the Khalífah to inform him of every thing that he had seen.

Hajjáj sends 2,000 horses with a letter to Muhámmad Kásim.

Hajjáj, after hearing the above news, sent 2,000 selected horses to Muhammad Kásim, and wrote the following letter to him. "From Hajjáj son of Yúsif to Muhammad Kásim. I learn from your letter as well as from a person who has come from those parts that some of the horses have died and the rest are doing well. So I send you 2,000 other horses. You must distribute these among those of your trustworthy men and warriors and officers of the army, who are deserving, and among those men who are fit for riding and can take proper care of their horses. Marshal your army in such a manner that with their strength and formidable appearance you may be able to subdue your enemy. But the best advice to you, for subduing the infidels, is that no one depending upon his own wishes is likely to gain his object or have his prayer granted. For the great God has said: 'Shall man have whatever he wisheth for? The life to come and the present life are God's.' * And I did not undertake this business myself till God set me on these infidels, for their day is done and good fortune has turned its face from them. The spiritual path, the religious law and the true faith have at last made their appearance, and the banner of piety has raised its head. You must manage anyhow, to collect boats to form a bridge over the river, in order to cross it without difficulty. Let the *káfirs* know all this though they will much dislike it."

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* Alkoran Chap. 53 part 27.

When Muhammad Kásim got this letter, and the horses also arrived he wrote a reply giving fresh local news. Among other things, he requested to be supplied with something sour or acid. "I shall be much obliged," wrote he, "by your sending a little vinegar from your own stores or securing it in any other way, as my men badly require it, because owing to their eating disagreeable kinds of food out of season, the humours of their bodies are disturbed and they get unwell."

Muhammad Kásim reads Hajjáj's letter.

On receiving this letter, Hajjáj ordered some dressed cotton to be soaked in vinegar and dried. This was done repeatedly, till the cotton had taken up a good quantity of vinegar. It was, then, sewn in bales and brought to the Arab camp. A letter was also written to Muhammad Kásim stating that at his request, dressed cotton, soaked in vinegar, had been prepared, and that when it was received it had only to be soaked in water, to give out vinegar.

Hajjáj sends vinegar.

It is related by Khwájah Imám Ibráhim, the writer of this part of the history, that while Muhammad Kásim was passing his time inactively on the western bank of the Mehrán, Hajjáj despatched a letter to him appointing him his deputy with plenary powers and telling him angrily. "I am dissatisfied with you and am surprised at your lenient policy. I really cannot understand why you should be so much bent upon showing mercy to the people. When you have tried an enemy and found him to be your opponent and ill-wisher, you should not be so kind to him. You should exercise proper discretion and discrimination and should not consider high and low equal or on the same footing; for, that will show a weakness of reason and sense, and the enemy will attribute it to languor and indolence. I swear by my soul and by my head, that the great and glorious God has given you good counsels to follow and placed reason in you to guide you. It shows deficiency of courage to be lenient and merciful to each and all. Tell this to your officers and to your friends, who are attached to you. It is strange that after gaining the upper hand and subduing the enemy, you have so long remained inactive and have been

Hajjáj's letter is received on the western bank of the Mehrán.

showing mercy to them. It is such a long time since you have been sitting in one place just opposite your enemy. If they are straightforward and are really anxious for mercy and have no treachery in their hearts, let them desist from fighting. Then only practical means will be found to meet the expenditure oft he war, and this prolonged enterprise will come to an end. I cannot but feel surprise at the weakness and indiscreetness of your policy. People will believe that you are trying to bring about peace and they will attribute your present conduct to lethargy and want of judgment. In this way no object will be gained. You ought not to give up the ,ways of imperialism and strong handed domination, and you should exercise discretion and inspire awe in order to subdue the enemy completely. You should give effect to every just resolution, and make your army show bravery as well as patience. Be a speaker of truth. Do not be negligent. Remember the great God, and obey His commands with your heart and soul. Now that you have become well acquainted with the course of the river Mehrán, you should cross it at the place called Bet, in as much as about that place the river is small in breadth, and its banks are suitable for taking over the horses and as there is a small island between the two waters you can cross gradually* Take all the necessary precautions for your own protection and safety. Make a bridge of boats. At the time of battle, be constantly asking the help of God, and consider the victory of the king, (may his power be great) near and with you. If you behave vigorously and inspire terror, the subjects as well as the military will pay obeisance to you to save their lives, and will take your side."

An account of the crossing of the waters of the Mehrán by Muhammad Kásim.

The authors of histories and the writers of this account have stated that when Muhammad Kásim got Hajjáj's letter, he, forthwith, in accordance with the orders received, started from his camp and came to the country of Sákrah, in the district of Jhim. He ordered boats to be brought to cross the river and planks put on them to connect them. On the other side, Rái Dáhar appeared to be careless and negligent, and

* The word Bet itself means an island in Sindhí.

engaged himself in amusements and pleasures and hunts and games, in order to make the enemy believe that he was no way afraid. One day Bhandwir Samaní* came to Dáhar, and said: "O king, I see you busy the whole day with nothing but hunting and pleasures. You are amusing yourself with the games of chess and dice, while the Arab army has already arrived and alighted by your capital." "What plan can you suggest?" asked Dáhar. "Three plans occur to me," replied the Samaní; "follow any of them. If you think it proper send away your children and dependents to Hind, and face the enemy alone in battle. You may then attack them in any direction you like, and fight with them, with your mailed animals, furious elephants, brave men and warriors. You should stop all the ways, so that they may not obtain grain and fodder. Or if you like, assemble round yourself all the forces that are, at this moment, under your command, and divide them into van-guard and rear-guard to cover your retreat, and then leave this place and go farther off to the territory behind that sandy desert, which will serve as a refuge to you. The residents of those parts will come to your assistance. Tell them:—'I am a wall between you and the Arab army; if they do me any harm, you too will not escape destruction. So better come and enroll yourselves under my command and help me to fight.' The third plan is that you should take your property and your followers with you to the territory of Jásam. That prince knows you very well, and will help you in every way. When you have managed to secure his assistance, you need not fear that any enemy will jeopardize the safety of your kingdom. The Arab army, then, can never derive any advantage from this country, and as long as the king is living, the enemy cannot but be foiled. Should an evil eye unfortunately fall on you and the enemy become successful and kill you, then none of the princes of Hind, will ever be able to defeat them, and this kingdom will come into their possession, and your connection will be cut off from every part of the country, as it must needs go entirely out of your hands." Dáhar said: "O wise wazír, whatever plan you suggest, must be the best

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* This man is addressed lower down as wazír. He is mentioned here for the first time.

and the right one, but, at such a crisis, I do not think it proper or expedient, to send my dependents to any place in Hind, as thereby my subjects will be greatly perplexed, and the Thakurs and nobles will be much disheartened, and so will leave off fighting and disperse. I too consider it shameful and humiliating to me to make entreaties to another (prince), or to go to his door and await his permission to see him. No, this shame I cannot bear." The wazír said:—"What then is your plan? Let your slaves know it, so that they may join your personal attendants in consultation, and give you the best advice." Rái Dáhar said: "My plan is to meet the Arabs in open battle, and fight with them with all possible vigour. If I overpower them, I shall crush them to death and my kingdom will then be put on a firm footing. But if I am killed honourably, the event will be recorded in the books of Arabia and Hind, and will be talked of by great men, and will be heard of by other kings in the world, and it will be said that such and such a king sacrificed his precious life for the sake of his country, in fighting with the enemy." The Samaní then said:—"My wish is that the king himself may live long and the kingdom may be firmly established. As for your slaves, it is easy for them to live contentedly on a handful of corn, and a mouthful of water, and with a little coarse cloth for their dress. The opinion of your majesty is the best."

Muhammad Kásim crosses over to the eastern bank, with the army of Islám.

When Muhammad Kásim made up his mind to cross the river, he pondered over all the details, and was anxious that Dáhar should not come with his army to the bank of the Mehrán, and occupy the crossing-point, or prevent the crossing. He therefore thought it advisable to make enquiries, and, accordingly, he ordered Sulaimán son of Bahnár Kuraishí to take his men, with the utmost speed, to the place opposite the fort to bar Dáhar's exit. Sulaimán departed with 600 men, and the son of Atiyyah Saalabí, with 500 men was ordered to go to the road of Agham, to keep a watch over the country of Kandráh. He appointed the late Samaní Governor of the fort of Nerún to superintend the supply of corn and fodder of which the army might stand in need. Maasab son of Abdurrahmán was made

the Commander of the advance guard, and was asked to go ahead and keep the roads clear and safe. Banánah son of Khantalah Kilábí, with 1,000 horse, was to form the central force, and Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí with 1,500 horse, together with Mókah Basáyeh king of Bet, the Thakurs of Babhsí, and the Jats, who had paid homage to the Arabs and had joined them, and the chief men of Sákrah,* were all posted at the island of Bet.

As soon as Muhammad Kásim learnt that the advance force had arrived on the Jhim road, and Jazí son of Bezak Jaafí had found out the crossing-point, where the river was narrowest, and the bank well-levelled, he came and stood opposite the island and viewed the contour of the Mehrán. He then ordered boats to be brought and filled with ballast of sand and stones and linked together by fixing nails into their (connecting) planks, and the bridge of boats was ready.

Dáhar hears of Mókah Basáyeh supplying boats.

When Dáhar learnt that Mókah Basáyeh had brought boats to Muhammad Kásim, and that the enemy had come to the bank to cross the river, he sent his son Jaisiah to protect the fort of Bet and instructed him not to put trust in Basáyeh, as he and all his sons might have become renegades. Jaisiah (then) came to the fort of Bet. But Mókah's brother, Rásil† who was against his brother, came to Dáhar, and said: "Long life and victory to the king. Your majesty knows well how faithful and obedient we (your) slaves are, and how we have tried our best to render service to you by taking necessary precautions. If your majesty would order me to protect the fort of Bet, I will proceed thither and make such arrangements that the Arab army can never cross the river." Rái Dáhar did not hesitate to appoint Rásil Governor of the country of Bet, and ordered the chiefs and grandees of the place to obey him. At the same time he called back Jaisiah from there.

* Probably the country round about Mírpur Sákra was then called Sákrah. It is said to be in the District of Jhim. Has the present Jhim Pir any connection with it? It is not very far from Sákra.

† In the Tahfatulkirám, this is Ráil and not Rásil.

It is related by Abul Hasan Hazlí, that Basáyah and his son Rásil had been on bad terms with Mókah Basáyeh for some time past, and their disagreement was too evident. Mókah Basáyeh had renounced the cause of Dáhar and had joined Muhammad Kásim, and Rásil, owing to his enmity, proceeded to oppose Mókah and the army of Muhammad Kásim. Mokáh ever since the time he had taken in the situation had never submitted or bent his head before Dáhar. He was always favourably inclined to Islám, and sincerely (so inclined). In the war between Dáhar and his enemy, Mókah played dodges and behaved deceitfully and always tried to make Dáhar's cause suffer. Those who had an opportunity to observe his conduct carefully, have related that, when Muhammad Kásim brought the boats and began to link them, Rásil collected the chiefs and nobles of his country, and hastened to the spot in order to prevent the Arabs from making the bridge and crossing the river. Muhammad Kásim, therefore, ordered all the boats to be linked together in a line along the western bank to the length corresponding to the breadth of the river at that place. After this was done, brave warriors armed themselves and put themselves in the boats. Then moving the whole block of boats, keeping one end of it fixed at the crossing-point and turning the other, the head boat was made to touch the opposite point on the eastern bank, and the Arabs, immediately, shot volleys of arrows and drove away the infidels from the bank. The (connecting) planks were nailed and the bridge was complete. Horsemen and foot soldiers landed, and drew themselves up in lines, and made a vigorous assault, putting the infidels to rout. The Arab army was wild (with enthusiasm), and pursued them down to the fort of Jhim. Those of the *káfirs*, who had very swift horses under them, galloped, in full speed, the whole night; and early in the morning, when the light of day appeared from behind the veil of night, they came to the camp of Dáhar. Dáhar was then fast asleep in his bed, and the curtain-lifters were hesitating to awake him. Eventually, a chief attendant stepped into the royal bed-room, and awakened Rái Dáhar, and informed him, in very distinct, and unmistakeable terms of the arrival of the army of Islam on their side of the

Muhammad Kásim forms the bridge and Rásil opposes him in crossing the river.

river, and of the retreat and flight of the infidels. Then Dáhar jumped up from his bed.

Dáhar gets up from sleep and punishes this attendant for bringing bad news.

Dáhar told his attendant that he had brought very bad news and he called him nearer, and in anger gave him a blow with his hand on his back. Dáhar's hand was so heavy that the man died of the blow.

A tradition.

It is related by historians that, when Muhammad Kásim crossed the river, he sent round a crier, proclaiming: "O army of Islám these waters of the Mehrán will be behind your backs, and the army of infidels will come in your front. Whoever wishes to return, let him go back even from this spot. If, after the coming up of the enemy and the commencement of battle, he turns his face, the soldiers will be disheartened, and they will run away, and our enemy will then be more pressing and powerful. Whoever so turns his face will incur disgrace, and die the death of a coward, and be liable to the torture of the next world." On hearing this proclamation, no one returned, except 3 persons,—one who said that he had a daughter at home and there was no other person to support her; another, who said that he had an old mother, who had no other relation to bury her, when she died; and a third, who said that he had a heavy debt on him and there was none else to discharge it. Muhammad Kásim permitted them to go away. The rest of the people remained with him unanimously. When the bridge was ready, the army began to pass over it. All went over safely except one person by name Túrán, belonging to the family of Baní, Khantalah who fell down into the river while crossing it and was drowned. The army of Islám then marched on, till it came near the fort of Bet. All the horsemen were so covered with coats of mail that they appeared to be, as it were, drowned in iron. Some parties were told off to different directions for reconnoitring. A ditch was dug round the camp, and the luggage, (of the army) was (carefully) deposited. Muhammad Kásim started from the fort of Bet towards Ráor and soon arrived at a town called Jitór. There

was a lake between Ráor and Jitór.* To a bank of this lake, Rái Dáhar had sent his chief men and armed soldiers to station themselves there and to watch the movements of the enemy. Through these, Dáhar received the news of the Arabs having crossed the river. Muhammad Kásim thought the enemy was on the offensive, and that the force had been sent to fight with him. So, he posted Muhriz son of Sábit Kaisí with 2,000 men on this side of the lake and sent up Muhammad Ziyád Abdí with 1,000 horse to the other side, in order to wait opposite to them.

Dáhar calls Muhammad Háris Aláfí to his help.

Rái Dáhar now called Muhammad Háris Aláfí † and thus spoke to him: "O Muhammad we patronised you (to secure your help) in an emergency like this. As on every previous occasion you were put in charge of the van, I specially appoint you to the same post on this occasion also, because you are acquainted with the ways of the Arab army and it is advisable that you should go with my forces in advance." Aláfí said; "O king, as we are indebted to you for many an act of kindness, we are bound to give you good counsel. But we are Mussalmans and will not draw our swords against, and fight with, the army of Islám. If, thus fighting, we are killed by the Mussalmans, we die the death of polluted wretches; and if we kill them, we become responsible for their murder and our punishment will be the fire of hell. But since we are under obligations to you for your kindness and patronage, and (we see that) there is no one to advise you, we should like to advise you. But if we do so this (Arab) army will never forgive us. So be kind enough to permit me to depart quietly."

Muhammad Aláfí asks permission to go away and Dáhar's reply to him.

It is related by the writers of this history that when Aláfí thus spoke, Dáhar replied: "I have retained you with me for a day like this. If you cannot be of any service to me in this emergency, and you consider it expedient not to follow my orders, then better leave us and go away." So Muhammad Aláfí left him and went

* The author of the Táríkh Maasúmí calls this, the lake of Gujrí.

† This evidently is the same man who is above called Muhammad Aláfí. He seems to be the son of Háris, or more correctly Hárith.

to the country ruled by Sulaimán, better known by the name of his grandfather, Batáyer son of Hurr. He remained under Sulaiman's protection till the time of Dáhar's death.

Muhammad Kásim gives pardon to Muhammad Aláfi.

After that event, Muhammad Kásim gave him pardon, and delivered to him Hajjáj's letter promising him a governorship. Thenceforth he used to go to different rulers of Hindustán to induce them to accept the faith of Islám, and to give tribute. In this way, by giving them excellent hopes and promises, he made them submit, and pay allegiance to Muhammad Kásim. If any of them wanted written covenants, he procured the same for them. Thus all of them were completely won over by him. Tátars son of Bajar Salman, Sarband, king of Kanúj, Mókah, the ruler of Katab, and Kabaiz son of Táhar, had already received the honour of Islám and become tributaries before Muhammad Aláfí went to Multán.

Dáhar's consultation with Aláfi.

There is (however) a tradition from Muhammad Hasan, that on the first day when Muhammad Aláfí wanted to excuse himself and stand aloof from fighting with the Mussalmans, Dáhar told him "If you wish to be excused from fighting with the Arabs, remain with us to do only the reconnoitring work, so that we may become acquainted with their stratagems and take proper steps to defeat their designs. At any rate do not deprive us of the benefit of your counsel." Accordingly Aláfí (with his men) went with Dáhar as the head of a reconnoitring party in order to make enquiries about the Arabs. When however Aláfí's party approached the Arab camp, the latter reproached them and so Aláfí fled in haste and came back.*

Muhammad Kásim sends a letter to Hajjáj Yúsif.

Muhammad Kásim now wrote a letter to Hajjáj about the state of affairs (in Sind) informing him that the army of Islám had crossed the Mehrán and had met Dáhar, the infidel, on a battle field and that the unbelievers had been put to flight. He ended his letter with (the usual) compliments. (The following reply was received):—

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* According to the Tuhfatulkirám when Muhammad Aláfí gave the above excuse, Dáhar was much grieved, but said nothing.

"My dear son Imáduddín Muhammad Kásim. I have acquainted myself with the contents of your letter. What you have done is radically thoroughgoing. It is wholly in harmony with the commandment of God and the grace of the Merciful, being for you, in this enterprise and (specially) in all your difficulties, to carefully offer your prayers at the 5 stated times to the august court of God, the great and the glorious, and every time you praise God's greatness (at the commencement of your orisons) or read passages from the Koran during them, and in every posture, whether standing or bending or touching the ground with your forehead or sitting, you must ask His help with humility and contrition. Keep your tongue regularly trained in the remembrance of God, that your affairs may be settled satisfactorily. Because without the divine kindness no person can possibly secure power and glory, and when you repose trust and confidence in the grace and goodness of the Great One, your hopes will be fulfilled and success and victory will come to you and help you. May the Great God's will be done. In the writing of Humrán."

Muhammad Kásim receives a letter in reply from Hajjáj.

The writers of traditions have related that when Muhammad Aláfí returned from the reconnoitring excursion, Dáhar despatched his son Jaisiah with a large number of men and elephants, and Jaisiah, seated on an elephant, opposed the army of Islám and gave them battle. After a hard fight, in which many infidels were killed, Jaisiah's army had recourse to flight, and Jaisiah himself with a number of his brave armed men and with his body guard, was hemmed in and pressed on all sides. The Arab army made an onslaught on Jaisiah, and sent the majority of his followers to hell. Jaisiah's elephant driver wishing then to know the mind of the royal rider as to whether he was inclined to carry on the fight, or to retreat and be safe from danger, thus addressed his elephant. "O elephant do you wish to fight on or to be safe. King Dáhar is anxious for the life of Jaisiah, what is your anxiety? Turn back that you may be saved." (Hearing this) Jaisiah said: "How can we be saved, when we are standing face to face with the enemy and have been pressed hard? We are hemmed in

Dáhar sends Jaisiah with Muhammad Aláfí and an advance army to engage the enemy.

on every side and have no way of escape. All is over with us." The elephant-driver thus gathered that Jaisiah preferred retreating from the fight and saving his life, and had repented him of the engagement. So the Mahout drove the elephant against the Arab horsemen and foot soldiers fighting around, and these could not check the attack of the elephant and gave way. On their dispersion Jaisiah found a path open for escape, and he turned his face from the field and fled. He alone arrived safely at his father's camp, but his whole army was cut to pieces. Rái Dáhar had encamped to the east of the lake, and when he saw Jaisiah, he offered thanks to his deity and duly bowed to it and praised it for bringing his son back to him safe and sound.* That same day a letter was received from Hajjáj, in which it was said: "Be *at* Dáhar wherever he may be, and whithersoever, he may go, and be assured that with the grace of God victory is yours and the infidels are destined to be defeated and vanquished."

Battle with Dáhar on the first day.

It is related by Muhammad son of Abil Hasan Madaní that when Jaisiah son of Dáhar fled and went back (to Dáhar) and his troops were killed, Rásil sent a messenger to Muhammad Kásim proposing to submit to him. His wazir had advised him not to do so, saying: "Rái Dáhar is on friendly terms with you and has much confidence in you. It will be quite unbecoming on your part to act against him at such a time as this. Besides, it cannot be known for certain whether the Arabs will be victorious in the end or not. Your brother Mókah, was on bad terms with Dáhar, and so he went and joined the army of Islám. But you have no such excuse for deserting him." Notwithstanding this advice, Rásil sent a confidential servant to Muhammad Kásim, without the knowledge of the wazir, with the following message: "I must keep the word that has once passed my tongue, and

* According to the Táríkh Maasúmí this battle was fought in the village of Rafián on the bank of the lake of Gujrí, the Mussalman forces being under Abdullah son of Ali Sakifí. The defeat of the Sindhis in the battle is said to have been chiefly due to the horse of the Sindh Commander throwing him down by an accident and going about in the army without a rider, which made the soldiers believe that their leader was killed. So they fled and a large number of them was drowned in the lake.

at the same time, it is a matter of shame and reproach to quietly submit to Muhammad Kásim. I am, however, anxious to give a colour to what I mean to do in order to be free from the taunts of my enemies. I shall give out that I am going to join Rái Dáhar by such and such a road. Send a party of your horsemen to overtake me on that road and to capture me. In this way I shall not be a subject of reproach and our respective objects will also be gained." According to this arrangement, Rásil issued from the fort of Bet and appointed (his father) Basáyeh in his place, telling him: "Should the Arab army come, do not fight with them. Go to them submissively, and, as far as possible try to please them, for, that step seems now most reasonable and expedient, since this country is destined to fall into the hands of the Arabs." Having made this resolution, Rásil started thence on his journey. Muhammad Kásim had despatched 500 horsemen to the appointed place and they waited till Rásil, true to his word, arrived. The men who accompanied him, thinking that their master was determined to make a firm stand against the enemy, engaged them at a place called Jói Nitrí, which was about 5 leagues from the fort of Kanbab. Rásil would not run away and at the same time he was avoiding the fight. Some of his party were killed. As Muhammad Kásim had instructed his men to capture him and not to kill him, they did not hurt him, but took him and his surviving men prisoners and brought them into the presence of Muhammad Kásim. Muhammad Kásim called him and said: "O Rásil, do you wish that I should pardon you for the sake of your brother Mókah? I had called on you, long before this, to submit, but after all you determined to stand against us and became a prisoner. Now you are free from the reproach, which you were so anxious to avoid. Now co-operate with us that I may bestow substantial favours on you and give you that part of the country to govern which you may have a liking for." Rásil paid his homage to the Arab general, and was presented with a robe of honour.

Rásil's promise to Muhammad Kásim.

When Rásil went through the ceremony of rendering allegiance and promised solemnly to remain faithful, he said: "No one can avert or prevent (the operation of) the command of the Great God. As you have so

much obliged me I shall henceforth remain firm in your service and never deviate from your will and pleasure, and shall loyally carry out your orders. Shortly afterwards (however) Rásil died, leaving the management of his estate to Mókah. When Rásil and Mókah were united they advised Muhammad Kásim to move his camp to a place called Narái. Dáhar's camp was then, at Kají Jak. They had seen that there was a big lake between the Arab army and Dáhar, which was difficult to pass over. So Rásil said to the Arab General: "May the just Amír Imáduddín live long. This lake must any how be passed over." And forthwith Rásil secured a boat for the purpose. Thirty men at a time were taken over, till the whole army was on the other side of the lake. But there was still a ravine to be crossed. Rásil then said (to Muhammad Kásim) "You should go one stage higher up, and encamp at Jitór on the stream of Dohárah, which is in the suburbs of that town. From that position you can easily carry on war with Dáhar and command his front and rear. You will at the same time be able to fall upon his baggage and bring it entirely into your possession." Muhammad Kásim relied fully on this advice and going to Jitór, encamped on the stream of Dohárah. Rái Dáhar soon came to know that Muhammad Kásim with the Arab army had come to Jitór. When Wazir Siákar* heard this, an exclamation burst from his mouth. "O" said he "(have they come to) the town called *Jitor* which means the place of victory. When the army has arrived there, certainly victory is theirs."† Rái Dáhar on hearing this turned back, and the fire of jealousy dominated his brain and he said in anger: "He has alighted at Hab Barí. It is a place where the bones of all of them will kiss the ground." Dáhar then rose and fled to the fort of Raór, within the walls of which he left his retinue and baggage while he himself took up a position in a village, where he was about a league distant from the

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* This shows that Wazir Siákar continues in his office as Budhiman's successor and so Bhand Wir Samani, mentioned above was not the Wazir, but must be some other officer, perhaps the high priest, as the title Sanami or Samani shows.

† "Jítan" means to conquor.

Arab army.* Here Dáhar consulted an astrologer: "To-day," said he, "I intend engaging the enemy. Where is the planet Venus? Find out from your books which of these two armies will be victorious and which vanquished. Inform me as to what the end would be." The astrologer, after looking into his books, said: "According to a scientific calculation, victory is in store for the army of Islám, because Venus is behind its back and in front of you." When Dáhar heard this he became very angry. The astrologer said: "The king should not lose his self-control; let him order that a figure o' Venus be made of gold." This was done and the image was tied to the saddle straps of his horse, that Venus might be behind his back and the victory be his. Muhammad Kásim now approached nearer, so that there was only half a league between the two armies.

Battle on the second day.

The next day Muhammad Kásim moved still onward, and alighted close to the enemy's army, at the distance of about two calls† (*báng*) from it. Dáhar then called a Thakur from amongst his princes whose name was Dahir Aor‡ and asked him to march against Muhammad Kásim. Accordingly Dahir Aor started with his detachment and going straight against the army of Islám, gave them battle. That day from early morning to the latest hour in the evening, brave warriors and soldiers on both sides fought hard and at close quarters, till they were exhausted and then returned to their respective camps.

Dáhar's battle with the Arabs on the third day.

The next day the accursed Rái ordered the Thakur of Jehpur to charge the enemy. He was a brave man and he issued forth and fought with the enemy till he was killed. As the troops told off by Dáhar, one after

* From the account given in the Chachnámah it would appear that Dáhar had left Alór and met the Arabs at some distance. But according to the Táríkh Maasúmí, Muhammad Kásim after defeating the Sind forces at Rafian on the lake of Gujri, marched to the very capital of Alór and laid siege to Dáhar in his fort. Here battering rams and fire missiles were used but without success. The Sind garrison made occasional assaults on the invading army but were every time defeated. In 10 days, seven such skirmishes were fought outside the walls of the fort. Then Dáhar came out himself leading the army on the memorable 10th of Ramazan 93 A. H. mentioned lower down.

† Which is about a mile.

‡ In one copy Dahir Kuwar, but in the same copy lower down—the name is written as Dahiraud.

another, fell under the blood-thirsty sword of the Arabs, Wazír Siákar approached Dáhar with due obeisance and said: "O king, the way in which you are carrying on warfare is a mistaken one. How many times has your wrong policy failed and yet you are no better for your experience. It is true that man proposes and God disposes, but nevertheless the high wisdom of kings owes it to itself to chalk out a plan for averting a calamity. Had you in the very commencement, when this army was crossing the waters of the Mehrán by batches, opposed them and harassed them, they would have been too much cowed down to risk a battle again with you. Now that they have all assembled (on this side of the River) and confronted you, every Thakur, whom you send against them is killed by them. This plan of yours is not the right one. The best thing is to attack them with all your forces, having first assembled all your cavalry and infantry. If you succeed, your object is gained and your enemy is repulsed. If not, they will overpower you and you will at least be free from the reproach of the kings of other countries and be excused by them, and your descendants and children will not have to bear any taunts." Dáhar accepted this advice.

Battle on the next i.e. the (fourth) day.

The next day by command of Dáhar, the drum of war was beaten and standards were raised high in the air. Young men of royal blood, and celebrated horsemen and veteran warriors, numbering 5,000, with 60 elephants, some say 100 war-like elephants and 20,000 foot soldiers with complete armour or coats of mail, marched out in front of Dáhar, who himself sat on a furious elephant, with a litter lashed to it and an iron coat spread over it.* He was armed *cap-a-pie* and had a tightly—strung bow in his hands.† Two maidservants were sitting with him in the litter, one of whom was handing over arrows

* Ali Sher Kania, the author of the Tuhfatulkirám, says Dáhar marched out in person, notwithstanding the objections of his astrologers. According to him Dáhar took the field in person on the "last day," the 10th of Ramazan, and not on the 9th as here, and had 10,000 horse and 30,000 foot and a number of elephants with him.

† According to the Tuhfatulkiràm Dáhar had a cutting discus in his hand.

to him one by one, and the other was giving him betel leaf (to chew).*

Dáhar sends Muhammad Aláfí with his son Jaisiah.

Dáhar then led out the army in person, and calling his son said: "I give you Muhammad Aláfí; he knows better than yourself how the Arabs fight. Do whatever he may advise or suggest—whether it be an advance, or a retreat. That day was the 9th of the month of Ramazan, of the 93rd year † from the flight of His Holiness the Prophet of God, (may the blessings of God and peace be on him and his descendants). When Dáhar arrived at the battle field, Muhammad Kásim encouraged the Mussalmans and urged them to the fight: "O people of Arabia," said he, "today is the day of trial. Try your best in the cause and for the sake of Islám, and use all your energy and zeal. Depend for protection and strength on the divine help and Grace so that you may drive away the infidels, and their kingdom may devolve upon you, and their wealth and country come into your possession. If you remain quiescent, or waver in your mind, or become broken-hearted, or allow weakness and infirmity to prevail on you, then they will overpower you and kill all of you, not leaving a single one of you alive and (remember, above all, that) if you turn your faces from the *káfirs*, your souls will be in hell, and your ancestors will be ashamed of *you*." He then appointed Muhriz son of Sábit Dimishkí and Uwais son of Kais with 6,000 horse to form the advance column and cross the lake. They passed the rivulet that stood between Dáhar and the Army of Islám, and then he ordered Atan son of Málik Kaisí and Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí, to join the van and all of them also went across (the rivulet). Then Aláfí thus addressed Dáhar: "O king of Hind and Sind, this mass of men that has come opposite to you, forms the backbone of the whole army. They are all valiant lions, life-sacrificing heroes and bold warriors. If your army succeeds in repulsing them, your object will be

* According to the Tarikh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám one of the maidservants was giving Dáhar betel leaf and the other a cup of wine. There was also a Brahmin seated on the elephant behind the king, a detail not mentioned in the Chachnámah.

† A. D. 711.

gained. If not, they will undoubtedly put you to flight. Now do what you think proper."

Dáhar now led out the whole of his army. Some elephants he sent with the advance column. The central forces he collected round himself. He placed in his front armed foot-soldiers and archers, and men with javelins, half-spears, and halberts, and on his right archers, and on his left, armed horsemen with naked swords. In this array they engaged in battle. That day Ubaid son of Atab left the side of Muhammad Aláfí, and came to Muhammad Kásim and communicated to him the following information. "Muhammad Aláfí," said he, "has told Dáhar that the battalion of Arabs, that has crossed the lake is the flower of the army of Islám and is its best cavalry. Dáhar has therefore directed his forces to cross over and so all the brave warriors and armed men are preparing to cross the lake." On getting this information, Muhammad Kásim ordered his best troops to hasten to cross the intervening lake. These, accordingly, who were all warlike horsemen and brave soldiers came down to the lake, leaving the centre and the body guard of chief men with Muhammad Kásim who followed with Mókah Basáyeh. Thus they marched on against the enemy. After crossing the lake, Muhammad Kásim put himself in the centre of the army, with Muhriz son of Sábit, and ordered Jahm son of Zajr Jaafí to take the right wing and, Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí to take the left. Atan son of Málik Kaisí was to lead the van, and Banánah son of Khantilah Kilábí the rear. Muhammad Kásim then addressed the troops saying: "O people of Arabia, if some accident befall me, then Muhirz son of Sábit is your next general (Amír), and if he obtain martyrdom, then Said is your general." Then Muhriz charged the enemy, and engaged them till he was killed. Then Said encouraging the troops attacked the enemy. In the fight that ensued, Hasan son of Mahabbat Bahkrí had his thumb cut off by a sword-blow, but the Mussalmans stood their ground, and (even) when furious elephants were brought into action, they divided themselves into small bands and falling on the elephants succeeded in scaring them away. The army of Islám then made a united assault and drove the infidels to their lines. The day then came to its close, and the two armies returned to their respective camps.

The writers of this history (*literally* the tire-women of these brides) have related that the next day when the creation-adorning morn showed its heart-exhilarating beauty to the world from the horizon of the east, it was a Thursday, and Dáhar issued forth with his son Jaisiah.† He was in the centre of the army, with 10,000 brave horsemen around him, all encased in iron, and some of them, whose hair hung loose, held drawn swords while others whose hair was tied in knots, bore swords and shields. Thus they advanced and stood opposite the ranks of the Mussalman army. Dáhar was seated on a white elephant surrounded by other elephants, with some more in the rear. On his right was Jaisiah with Abá son of Hasan, Kirád the elder and Kirád the younger and on his left was his nephew Jáhín with Bashar son of Haol and Wakiah son of Bashar.‡ His other son Daharsiah, with Bel, the ruler of Kunhab and Nailah, Júnah and some other chief men of Sind, and Bakhiari, Sarahil, Sanj, Asbar, Lakialba, and all the Jats of the eastern part of the country stood marshalled in the rear. Great swordsmen and slaughterers were put in front of the centre, and out of the elephants two were placed to the left, and the rest with the cavalry were sent under the command of Jáhín to face the army of Islám.

The tenth of the month of Ramazan of the year 93.*

When Muhammad Kásim on seeing the enemy approaching issued forth, he appointed Khantalah Kilábí to the charge of the right wing, and Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí to that of the left and directed Abasobir Hamadán to take up his position with the standards in front of the elephants (of the enemy.) (At the same time) Hudail son of Salmán Ázdí and Zaid son of Jolaidí Azdí with a number of horsemen from Numailah and Masúd son of Shaarí Kalbí and Muharik son of Kaab Rastí were

The division of the army of Islam into the right and left wings and the centre.

* This is the fifth battle A. D. 711.

† According to the Tuhfatulkirám, direct fight with Dáhar's army continued for 10 days, during which it was each day defeated by the Arabs. The eleventh day was the memorable tenth of Ramazan, Thursday, which according to the English Calendar would appear to be the 16th June 711.

‡ The Musalman names appear to be those of some of the Aláfí Arabs in Dáhar's employ.

posted in front of the centre. The van was to come into action, Muhammad son of Zaid Abdí and Bashar son of Atiyah with their companions joining it on one side and Maasab son of Abdurrahmán Sakifí and Hazím son of Urwah Madaní on the other. Muhammad Kásim divided his select cavalry (also) into the centre, the right wing, and the left. Those who remained, stood behind the army. He ordered the naphtha-shooters to have their weapons and appliances ready and to light their torches and set up their fires. They were 900 men in all and these he divided into 3 parties; 300 men were put in the centre, 300 in the right wing and as many in the left. All of them fixed their arrows of naphtha to their bows.* It was the hour of morning prayer when the five lines stood arrayed with their colours flying. One line was formed by the men of the family of Aliyah; another by the children of Tamím; a third by Bikr Ráil and his men; a fourth by Abdul Kais with his tribesmen; and a fifth by the people of the Azdí tribe. All these five lines turned their faces to Muhammad Kásim in order to hear his orders.

Muhammad Kásim's addresses his men.

Muhammad Kásim now addressed his troops in the following words—

"O men of Arabia, these crowds of *káfirs* have come prepared to fight with us. You must exert yourselves as much as possible, for they will fight furiously for the sake of their wealth, families, houses, domestics and property. Ride against them with the assistance of the Great God. Under the divine protection and with the divine help we hope to make them all the food of our sharp and well-tempered swords, and to defeat and subdue them, dispossess them of their property and families, and obtain large spoils. Be steadfast and waver not. Deck yourselves with silent perseverance. Stick to your posts, and keep your respective positions in the ranks, and see to it that none of you goes from the centre to the right wing or from the right wing to the left wing to render individual help. Stand in your proper places, and remember that the great and glorious God makes the end of the pious happy. Be always repeating the holy word of God (the Korán) and be saying 'There is no protection or power, but with

* Accordig to the Tuhfatulkirám and the Táríkh Maasúmí the Sind forces on the last day consisted of 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse enveloped in armour.

God, the Great, the Powerful"* •He then ordered the water-bearers to fill their leather bags, and go along every line giving water to the men, that they might not move from their places in search of it. At this juncture Abú Baker, son of Wáil and the men of the Baní Tamím family came up to him and said :—"The army of the infidels appears to be a veritable calamity, so numerous is it. It has already its weapons and instruments of war in perfect order, and being quite ready for battle, it is quite jubilant, and is pressing forward to meet you and to fight."

Muhammad Kásim encourages his warriors.

Hearing this, Muhammad Kásim turned his face to them and said :—"O children of Tamím, O dear friends, the enemy has come forth and is facing us. He is ready for the battle. Do you now exert yourselves with your whole might and your utmost energy, and you will not fail." He thus encouraged them, and they stood ready to fight, and brave warriors and martial heroes in every line shouted to one another, and proceeded to battle.

Muhammad Kásim addresses his friends.

The authors of history have related on the authority of Farkad that, on that day Muhammad Kásim addressed his men thus :—"O Mussalmans, be constantly asking pardon of God for your sins. The great and glorious God has sent two gifts to the followers of Muhammad, the chosen one, (on whom and on whose descendants and friends be peace and the blessing of God) ; one is repeating blessings on his holiness Muhammad the chosen one (may God's blessings and peace rest on him, his children and his associates) and the other is asking pardon of God for sins. If you take heart, the great and mighty God will make you victorious over the enemy." It is related that when Muhammad Kásim came to the battle-field he asked Abú Fiddah Kishairí, the emancipated slave of Kandhal to take 200 picked horsemen and act as advance guard. Accordingly Abú Fiddah marched on till he came face to face with Dáhar and his Thakurs and warriors. Then a column of the infidels which had come out for battle, engaged him, but a large number of them was sent to hell, and the rest fled and joined Dáhar.

* This formula is often repected by Mussalmans when in danger or surprise.

Dáhar then sent another column to oppose him but Abú Fiddah remembered the name of the great God, and made an assault on the enemy, whom he again defeated. A third time Dáhar nominated some of his Thakurs to fight with the Arab vanguard. Abú Fiddah, once more praying to God for his pardon, attacked the enemy and put them all to flight. He went on slaughtering them till he drove them to Dáhar's camp.

Some men come forth crying for mercy.

The narraters of historical tales have related, that when Muhammad Kásim moved his rank and file, a few men of the infidels came out all of a sudden and asked for mercy. On Muhammad Kásim promising it, they said: "O just governor we have renounced our own faith, and have come into the fold of Islám. Give us a select detachment of your cavalry, that we may take it behind the army of Dáhar unawares, and seeing your men coming suddenly from that side, they will be frightened and will disperse. When you find them wavering, order the forces of Islám to press the attack from all sides; and our mind suggests that thereby your sword will overawe these infidels and they will be over-powered." Without loss of time, Muhammad Kásim selected a party of cavaliers and appointed Marwán son of Ashham Yamaní and Tamím son of Zaid Kaisí their leaders, and ordered them, with two standards, to the rear of the Sind forces. The infidels had no knowledge whatever of this move. As soon as the army of Islám raised their war-cry of "God is great," as was their custom in religious wars, some of the *káfiirs* lost their hearts and turned their faces in order to run away. Terror and awe struck the whole army of Dáhar, and in the confusion that followed, their ranks wavered. Muhammad Kásim then called out to his men in a loud voice, and said: "Hark, O Arab host, make an onset at once as there is division in the camp of the *káfirs* now," and forthwith the army of Islám poured in upon them from the front and the rear, from the right and the left. Muhammad Kásim continued to incite his men to fight bravely. "To-day", said he, "Is the day to kill and to be killed; so try your best," and the battle went on, till there were heaps of infidels killed. It was then that Dáhar took up his shield on his white elephant, and taking with him

400 men, armed cap-a-pie and bearing swords and iron shields and half lances with iron handles called *sel* in the Hindí language, came forth—and fought with such unceasing vigour that the skin of his mens' hands cracked. Now and then Dáhar made his elephant rush upon the enemy. He himself carried a circular disc in the form of a mirror with sharp knives.* He threw it as men throw a noose at every one whether a horse, man, or a foot-soldier who approached, and severed his head from his body. (As already stated), he had two maid-servants with him in the litter, one of whom was giving him betel-leaf and the other arrows, one by one. Thus the battle went on till the evening prayer hour, and the infidels lost a large number in killed.

Martyrdom of Shujáa the Abyssinian.

The relaters of historical tales have stated, on the authority of Rámsiah Brahmin, that among the Mussalmans there was a man called Shujáa Habashí (Abyssinian). His bravery was unbounded, and in the field of battle he had already worked miracles. He now came before Muhammad Kásim, and solemnly swore: "I shall not eat or drink till I have faced Dáhar and wounded his elephant. As long as my soul is in my body I shall fight on till I become a martyr." It was on Thursday, the 10th of the sacred month of Ramazán 93,† that Dáhar came forth seated on a white elephant and ready for battle. The Abyssinian who was on a black horse, then advanced and engaged in fight. Rái Dáhar was informed that the man was comi g to have a combat with him, and Rái Dáhar turned towards him and drove his elephant at him. The Abyssinian too spurred his horse and brought it before the elephant. But the animal frightened at the sight of the elephant, tried to turn aside. The Abyssinian then immediately took off his turban, and tried the horse's eyes with it, and rushing on the elephant, wounded its trunk with a single blow. Rái Dáhar placed a bifurcated arrow of the shape of scissors on his bow string, and with his usual firmness and skill discharged it at the Abyssinian, and it sheered off the Abyssinian's head from his neck, his body still remaining on the horse. Dáhar then shouted out:

* This seems to be the same instrument which in the Tuhfatulkirám is called a cutting wheel.

† 711 A. D.

I have smitten the Abyssinian and killed him." Dáhar's warriors approached, and found the Abyssinian's body lying on the bow of his saddle. Thus the infidels made a rush on the Arabs from all sides, and fought so steadily and bravely that the army of Islám became irresolute, and their lines were broken up in great confusion. It was generally believed that the Arabs were defeated and put to flight, and men were struck dumb and overawed. Muhammad Kásim was then so much perplexed that he called out to his boy water-bearer :—"Give me a little water to drink." He drank water and then returned, and loudly shouted : "Here am I, your commander Muhammad Kásim. Whither are you running away. Up with your shields and on to the attack, that the infidels may be killed and victory be ours." He then rallied all the forces. Mókah Basáyeh now came to his presence, and with all his men dismounted and stood on foot before him.

Muhammad Kásim calls his friends to himself.

Muhammad Kásim called out at the top of his voice : "Where are Hazím son of Umar, Madaní, and Kublí Wahalí, and Musib son of Abdurrahmán, and Banánah son of Khantilah Kilábí and Aós son of Ayyah and Abú Fiddah and Muhammad son of Ziyád Abdí and Tamím son of Zaid Kaisí ? Where are my comrades and kinsmen and my swordsmen, my guards and my lancers ? All of you are the prop and support of your respective armies. Keep your columns ready in their allotted positions. Do not waver or lose resolution; encourage your men." Then Muhammad Kásim repeated the name of the great and glorious God and ordered an assault. The *káfirs* held their position firmly, and the battle raged furiously. The flourishes of brilliant swords caused flames of fire to appear in the air, and swords and lances struck against one another till they broke. Then the men began to wrestle and tussle with one another. From early morn to eventide large numbers of the infidels were killed, and Rái Dáhar was left with 1,000 horsemen only, chiefly those of royal blood, when the sun set.

An account of Dáhar's death.

The gardeners of these beautiful flowers, and the writers of these beautiful tales, have stated that Rái Dáhar was killed on Thursday the tenth of the holy month of Ramazán

in the year 93 * at about sunset. It is related by Abdul Hasan on the authority of Abilláis Hindí, who had heard it from his father, that when the army of Islám rushed on the enemy, most of the infidels were cut to pieces in the fierce assault. All of a sudden, then, there was noise and confusion on the left hand side, and Dáhar thought his men were running away. Dáhar called out to them "Come to me, come to me, I am here," and the voices of some women in that melee replied: "O king, we are women, and have been caught and made prisoners by the Arab troops." Dáhar said: "What (do you say)? I am still alive. Who can seize you"? So saying he drove his elephant on the army of Islám. Muhammad Kásim then ordered his naphtha-flingers to shoot their naphtha, and one of these men, who was very skilful in his profession, threw a naphtha arrow at the litter of Rái Dáhar on the elephant, and the litter immediately caught fire. Dáhar asked the elephant-driver to turn back the animal, as he was thirsty. But the litter was already in flames, and the elephant, disobeying the driver, rushed towards the water, and threw himself into it. The driver tried his best to check and turn back the animal, but to no purpose. Thus both Dáhar and the driver were flung into the water. Some of the infidels ran up to the king in the water, and others stood on the bank. Just then a party of Arab horsemen arrived at the scene, and the infidels decamped. After drinking water and drenching himself in it, the elephant was up again. Dáhar then wanted to go back to the fort, but the Mussalman archers threw a volley of arrows at him, one of which pierced his heart and he fell with his head downwards in his litter, which was still on the back of the elephant.† The elephant came out of the water, rushing madly at the men about him, and (thus) trampled under his feet the infidels (who had remained behind), and created wild disorder. Dáhar then slowly dismounted from the elephant and was confronted by Shujáa Arabí, who dealt him a sword-blow on the top of his head splitting it into two, down to his neck. The army of Islám now fell upon the *káfirs* and a great slaughter ensued, and only a few arrived

* 711 A. D.

† In the Tárikh Maasúmí it is said that Dáhar fell down dead, pierced with the arrow. But here it seems he survived the blow and died later on.

at the fort of Raór.* Those of the infidels who had thrown themselves into water (after Dáhar), now came out, as they found the place where Dáhar had fallen dead was unguarded, and they concealed his body in the slush. The white elephant jogged on towards the army of the infidels of whom no trace remained on the battle-field.

It is related that on the day the accursed Dáhar was killed, Kábil son of Háshim received sixteen wounds. Nevertheless he continued to assault the enemy, and to say—Verse:—

> Know (Oh friends) what a merry morning it is to me to kill and to crush (the soldiers of) Dáhar—Help (from above) comes to our army in the morning—the (blessed) morning of battle to which may my, life be a sacrifice.

They say that when he died, the infidels wanted to remove his weapons, from his body, but they were not able to do so. They left his body where it was lying, to be engulfed in the water.

Muhammad Kásim's proclamation.

Muhammad Kásim now looked around and saw Jaish son of Akbí Ámir (who was a son of Abdul Kais) standing before him. To him he said: "O son of Akbí Ámir call out loudly to your friends and say that Rái Dáhar cannot yet be found. Take care lest he be in ambush somewhere. Be therefore on the alert." Jaish replied: "My mind tells me that Dáhar is killed." But Muhammad Kásim was still anxious, and went on asking every body as to what he knew about Dáhar who was not visible. Soon afterwards a Brahmin came and asked for quarter,† and said: "If the just commander pardons me with my children and followers, I shall point out the spot where Dáhar has been killed." Some trustworthy men and friends (of Muhammad Kásim) went with him, and pulled out Dáhar's body from the mud. They could still smell the sweet scent of musk and otto

* In the Tárikh Maasúmí, it is the fort of Alór itself.

† This was probably the Brahmin, who according to the Tárikh Maasúmí sat on the elephant, behind Rái Dáhar along with the two maid-servants.

of roses emanating from it.* The head was severed and fixed on a lance, and brought to Muhammad Kásim who enquired if any one could identify it, and ordered the two maid-servants who had been with Dáhar in the litter and who had since been captured, to be brought before him; and these identified the head. Muhammad Kásim thereupon gave pardon to and set at liberty, the Brahmin and 300 others who were his relations, followers and dependents. When Muhammad Kásim saw Dáhar's head, he praised the great God, and offered thanks by performing two genuflexions. He then issued a mandate to the effect that all the prisoners of war should be put to death. All the artisans and merchants, however were pardoned by him and allowed to continue to live in their native land.†

A tradition.

Umar son of Mughairah Kilábí is said to have related that when prior to its departure the Arab army was arrayed before Hajjáj son of Yúsif, the latter reviewed every line, and encouraged the soldiers, and when he came to Amrú son of Khálid, said : "O Amrú, I ask Muhammad Kásim and your other friends here to be witnesses to the deeds you would perform. Let us see whether you do what you have said you will." The tradition says that on the day when Amrú encountered Dáhar in the battle-field, he called Muhammad Kásim to bear witness and instantly with a blow wounded the elephant, and it was he who cleft Dáhar's head into two halves. ‡ Subsequently when this same Amrú came to Irák and presented Dáhar's head to Hajjáj, he made a bow, and said : "May the just governor live long in prosperity. You had asked the commander Muhammad Kásim to be a witness to my deeds." "Aye," said Hajjáj "tell us what you have done." Amrú, in

* The author of the Tárík Maasúmí says that the Brahmin gave the information to Kais, who informed Muhammad Kásim and the latter came in person along with the Brahmin to the very place where Dáhar's body was found buried in the mud.

† The author of the Tahfatulkirám gives the period of Dáhar's reign as 33 years and that of the whole Brahmin dynasty as 92 years.

‡ Shujáa Habashí wounded the elephant's trunk and Shujáa Arabí cleft Dáhar's head, according to the previous account. This is apparently a different version.

reply read the following verses:

Verses.—The whole host is witness to what you said on the day of my visit in the presence of Muhammad bin Kásim bin Muhammad. The enemy's army is defeated. I fought—without flight—till I felled him from his high estate and brought him under the heel of Hajjáj. Behold now his fall—behold the shamed cheeks of the slaughtered foe.

It is related by Muhammad Hindí, who heard it from Mushta-ir Abi, who again had heard it from some venerable old men of Hind, that when Dáhar's wife Ládí* was made a prisoner after Dáhar's death, Muhammad Kásim fell inclined to purchase Ládí for himself from her captors. Accordingly he wrote to Hajjáj asking his permission to do so. Hajjáj forwarded his application to the Khalífah Walíd with his recommendation. (In due course of time) an order was received from the Khalífah granting the permission for the purchase of Ládí. Muhammad Kásim thereupon purchased her and made her his wife.

Muhammad Kásim asks his wife *Ládí* as to how she was captured.

It is related by Ukail son of Umar that Muhammad Kásim asked Ládí "How were you captured amidst Dáhar's retinue, and for what reason, did you separate yourself from Dáhar" Ládí replied: "when the army of Islám came to close quarters with Dáhar, the latter appointed a strict watchman over each lady of his house with instructions that as soon as the army of Islám became victorious and the infidels were defeated and routed, they were to behead all the ladies, so that none of them might fall into the hands of Mussalmans. The watchman set over me looked closely at me and said: 'your face is so smiling that I take it your heart is inclined towards the Arabs. Methinks you will become their property.' Shortly afterwards when the army of Islám made an attack on the infidels and put them to flight, every other watchman, appointed by Dáhar, killed the lady in his charge, but I threw myself down from over my camel in the midst of the fighting men, so my watchman could not kill me, and he himself took to his heels. Instantly the Mussalmans came up,

* This was Dahar's real wife, *Bái*, his sister, being his nominal queen only, as we have already seen.

and seized me, and General Muhammad Kásim ransomed me and made me his wife."*

Muhammad Kásim writes a letter to Hajjáj about the victory and about the death of Dáhar and the conquest of the kingdom.

It is related by old men in Sind that when, with heavenly help and divine assistance, the Arabs became victorious, and the infidels were defeated, Muhammad Kásim wrote the following letter to Hajjáj son of Yúsif describing the victory gained by him and giving particulars in connection with it:—

"To Hajjáj son of Yúsif, the governor of Irák and Hind. After many compliments and respects, Muhammad Kásim begs to state that the glorious and omnipotent king, of holy names, has, with His universal grace and liberal kindness, vouchsafed victory and success to the army of Islám, after brave warriors and fighting heroes of both sides sacrificed themselves on sharp and shining swords. We have overpowered and defeated Dáhar and his forces, with his mad elephants and infidel horsemen, who were entirely covered with mail and weapons. Their elephants, horses, wearing stuffs, slaves and cattle have all come into our possession, and the usual fifth part of the same has already been sent to the Khalífah's treasury. We hope that, with the grace of God, the whole kingdom of Hind and Sind will come into our possession and under our sway, as so much has already been done satisfactorily and successfully. The will of the ominpotent God be done."

The head of Dáhar was then entrusted to Sárim son of Abí Sárim Hamadáni and Abí Kais was ordered to

* The Tárikh Maasúmí and the Tahfatulkirám give a different account of Queen Ládí. According to them, when the Sind army was defeated and Dáhar killed, Muhammad Kásim wanted to enter the fort of Alór and take possession of it, but the gate was closed against him, as it was believed that Dáhar was still alive. Muhammad Kásim therefore, sent the two maid-servants with Dáhar's head to the gate and the maid-servants with weeping eyes assured the queen and others, who were inside the fort, that Dáhar was dead. Queen Ládí seeing her husband's head was so much maddened with grief that she threw herself down from the top of the wall and was found dead. The fort was then opened to the Arabs. This account seems more probable. Ládí is again mentioned lower down.

acc mpany him. Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkí, Yazíd son of Mukhálid Hamadání and Ziyád son of Hawári Abdí and some others were also asked to accompany them. All these men were mentioned and praised by Muhammad Kásim in his letter to Hajjáj. "This victory" wrote he, "is entirely due to the intrepidity, fortitude, heroism and help of these men." Those of the chiefs of Hind, who had fought obstinately and proudly and whose heads were sent to Irák, were all enumerated with their names in that letter by Muhammad Kásim.*

Conversation of the governor Hajjáj with Kaab.

When Dáhar's head and the heads of his triutary princes, together with their ensigns and royal umbrellas, (described in Muhammad Kásim's letter), were received by Hajjáj Yúsif, he enquired: "Which is the chief person among you?" And Kaab son of Mubárik said: "I am that person." Then Hajjáj said: "Muhammad Kásim has mentioned in his letter the names of his friends and has written what he came to see or know about them. He has written nothing about you and has not even mentioned your name. How are we to know that you were present there and that you did anything?" Kaab replied: "When the dread and awe of the *káfirs* prevailed over the minds of the Arabs, and Amír Muhammad Kásim, in perplexity came down from his horse, I went and caught his saddle-bow. He put his hand round my neck, and kept on consulting with me. Subsequently I was fighting quite in front of him, till Dáhar was deprived of his life." Hajjáj enquired: "Did Muhammad Kásim feel perplexed and appear confused at the time of battle? Did he at the time of victory express his joy and make merry? Did the hardships of war and the plots of the enemy produce any perceptible effect on him?" Kaab said "When the assault was made, horsemen stood by horsemen and foot-soldiers by foot-soldiers; reins were by reins and lances by lances. Flames of fire were visible in the air from the reflection of the spears and the lighting-like brilliancy of the swords. At this juncture, Muhammad Kásim cried out: 'give me

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* It is stated in the Tárikh Maasúmí that this party consisted of 200 horsemen, and they went to Baghdád, the capital of the Khalífahs, *viá* Kech Makrán, and the Tahfutulkirám says that the party started in the begining of the month of Shawwál, which follows Ramazán the month in which Sind was conquered.

water to drink,' and he drank it." Hajjáj said: "That is right. What my cousin has said is not, wrong. By God it is not wrong, because in the holy Korán the great God has said 'Verily God will test you by a stream; and he who drinks out of it, is not from amongst us, and he who does not drink out of it, is undoubtedly from amongst us.' "*

A tradition.

When they placed Dáhar's head before Hajjáj, and reversed his royal umbrella and banners, and made the prisoners stand along with the menials and shoe-bearers, a man belonging to the family of Baní Sakíf got up and recited the following verses :—

Verses.

We have conquered Sind, after enormous trouble, by the terror of Muhammad bin Kásim's name—Muhammad bin Kásim the Sakifi—perfect in counsel and courage. The Amír (Hajjáj) who enacts respect from the world—bade him adieu in the morning. Never has wisdom been absent from the deeds of the Amír. Notorious is the confidence which he reposes in Muhammad bin Kásim. The God of (the Prophet) Muhammad has given him (Muhammad bin Kásim) victory. Low are the necks of the enemy's women under his swords. Bewrayed is Dáhar by his (masterly) strategy. (Rejoice)—the evil-doers are disgraced—their wealth has been brought away—they are now solitary and brittle as eggs, and their women (fair and fragrant) as musk-deer are now asleep (in our harems). The (chopped off) head of their lord here is their only head—they have to ride on camels in shame, and their (whilom) army is shedding unceasing tears."

Hajjáj Yúsif was very fond of Muhammad Kásim, so much so that whenever he did not see him he became impatient and restless. So when he heard the above he uttered the following verses :—

Verses.

" Verily no desires reach their cousummation until
Muhammad bin Kásims' desires reach theirs' "

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* Alkoran chap. II Part I. The whole text in Sale's translation is—"And when Jalut departed with his soldiers, he said Verily God will prove you by the river: for he who drinketh thereof shall not be on my side, but he who shall not taste thereof, he shall be on my side."

Then he said "It is now obligatory on us that every day we should write a letter to Muhammad Kásim, that he may take heart and be encouraged by reading it." Thenceforth he used to correspond with him regularly, and Muhammad Kásim always acted in accordance with Hajjáj's suggestions and in obedience to his orders.

A tradition about Hajjáj giving the hand of his daughter to Muhammad Kásim.

A man of the family of Baní Tamím has related (the following story) on the authority of Yazíd son of Kanánah who heard it from his father. Yazid's father said that, he was one day with Hajjáj when he thus spoke to Muhammad Kásim,—"O cousin, I mean to raise you to high position. If you have to ask any favour of me, ask it" Muhammad Kásim replied; "Make me happy, by giving me the hand of your daughter." Hajjáj who had a small stick in his hand at that time, struck it on Muhammad Kásim's turban and repeated the question: "Ask what you want?" Muhammad Kásim gave the same reply. Again Hajjáj struck the stick on his head, and for the third time said "Ask what you want? Speak out your mind" Muhammad Kásim again begged the hand of his daughter. Hajjáj then said: "I shall comply with your request on condition that when you become happy, you will take an army to Fárs or Hindustán, acquire the wealth of those countries, and conquer them and bring them into your possession."

Hajjáj addresses the public and delivers a sermon in the great mosque of Kúfah.

The historians of this conquest have stated that when the party aforesaid brought the trophies of war *viz*: Dáhar's head and the heads of his Thakurs or chiefs, with banners and ensigns and drums, Hajjáj ordered that a proclamation be issued throughout the town of Kúfah, calling a meeting of the people. Then he himself ascended the pulpit of the mosque, and after praising the great and glorious God of the great name, and pronouncing blessings on the Prophet (on whom and on whose descendants be peace and the blessing of God), and speaking highly of those who had served in the cause of the religion of Muhammad, (peace be on him and his children and the blessing of God), he said: "Good news and good luck to the people of Syria and Arabia, whom I congratulate on the conquest of Hind and on the possession of immense wealth,

the sweet waters of the Mehrán and unlimited benefits and boons which the great and the ominpotent God has kindly bestowed on them." Then he read out to them the letter describing the conquest of Sind, and ordered joyous entertainments to be given in the town. He conferred plenty of favours on and gave high posts to those who, in the late war, had performed (almost) miraculous exploits. He presented to them valuable ornaments set with jewels and of different colours, and sent them to Abdul Malik son of Marwán the Khalífah of the time. The latter enlisted them as his chief courtiers, and some of them stayed there, but some, (who did not like to remain there) were sent back.

Hajjáj writes a reply to Muhammad Kásim's letter about the victory.

Hajjáj then wrote a letter in reply to that of Muhammad Kásim, and he gave him warm encomiums, (but at the same time, he did not omit to reprimand him,) for he wrote to him : "You have praised the emancipated slave of Sakíf so much ; where was the necessity of praising a wicked man like him? There were so many worthy men in your army, as for instance the men of the family of Baní Salím or of that of Baní Tamím or of your own mother Habíbah the great, your own brother Salb son of Kásim, your own uncle and father, these all were not less worthy ; and yet you have said nothing about them. I do not find fault with you, nor do I charge you with any mischievous behaviour. I would not exchange you for them, and would value and love you more than them. I only say that it was improper for you to have praised a hypocrite, in connection with the victory over Dáhar, when there were better men from Syria and Irák like Haziráah son of Amrú or Dáris son of Ayyúb, or Banánah son of Kautilah, or Hazil son of Sálim or Jehm son of Zajr Jaafí or Zakwán son of Alwán Bahkrí, or Kaab son of Mubárik and some other noteworthy persons who were superior in every way. You must patronize all these men and keep yourself aloof from ambition, deceitfulness, hypocrisy and vanity. I conclude with compliments."

The people of Raór, who were kinsmen of Dáhar, receive the sad news.

The following is related by Abú Ayyúb Háshim one of the children of Jaafar son of Sulaimám, an emancipated slave of Abí Abdulláh son of Abbás, who heard it from Kaab son of Mubárik. Kaab said "I went to visit

Abdul Malik son of Marwán (the Khalífah) on the day when they brought Dáhar's head, sent by Hajjáj Yúsif. The slaves, who were chiefly daughters of princes and Ránás, were made to stand in a line along with the menials * The Khalífah of the time asked those, who knew the prisoners, to bring up Dáhar's niece. (When she was brought) the Khalífah was full of admiration on seeing her face and features. He then said: 'O Kaab, this girl is a princess and has a beautiful face. Take her away and make her your wife.' At that time I was a young man. I took her away to my house and married her. She was so wise that many women used to come to her to consult her and take her advice and they learnt many things from her. But she bore me no child."

Jaisiah occupies the fort of Raór and vainly thinks of carrying on the war.

It is related by several historians, all of whom agree, that when Dáhar was killed, his son Jaisiah and queen Báí who was his sister but whom he had placed with himself on the throne and under his royal umbrella or canopy as a queen, went to the fort of Raór with the forces of their kinsmen of royal blood, and protected themselves within its walls. Jaisiah was very proud of his bravery and prowess and rank. Having much confidence in himself, he prepared to carry on war, and Muhammad Aláfí co-operated with him. When they heard that Dáhar was killed and his white elephant severely wounded, Jaisiah Dáhar said to the noblemen around him: "we will face the enemy and smite him with our swords to win fame and honour. Even if we are killed we shall not have lost our lives in vain." Wazir Siyákar said: "what the prince thinks is not right. Our king is killed, our army is defeated, our numbers are dispersed, and our hearts, over-awed by the fear of the enemy's sword, are sick of fighting. Under these circumstances, how can you manage to war with the Arabs? Our country still stands where it did before, and our impregnable forts are still strongly fortified, and are alive with warlike men and the natives of the soil. The best plan is that we should go to the fort of Brahminábád. That fortified town is an hereditory possession of our king's ancestors and a residence of Dáhar. The treasure there, whether over the surface of the earth or buried under it, is still at our disposal. The dwellers in the town are

* Literally shoe-bearers.

on friendly terms with and favourably inclined towards, the family of king Chach, and will all assist you in fighting with the enemy." Jaisiah consulted Aláfí: "What is your advice in this matter?" asked he. "My advice" replied Aláfí "is also the same as given by the Wazír." Rái Jaisiah therefore resolved to act accordingly, and he took all his dependents and followers with him and shifted to Brahminábád. On their departure, Dáhar's queen Báí made preparations for war in the fort of Ráor with the assistance of some other princes. She appealed to the men, and 15,000 brave warriors enlisted themselves on her side. All stood up ready for death, with one mind. When the next morning they heard the news that Dáhar was killed in the gulf of Dháwáh, in the waters of the Mehrán,* the princes and chiefs who had joined queen Báí, sheltered themselves within the walls of the fort. Muhammad Kásim, on learning this, turned his steps towards the fort of Ráor, and soon arrived at the foot of the fort. Instantly drums were beaten and trumpets sounded from the top of the fort and the towers, and volleys of catapult and sling stones and arrows and spears were showered down upon the Mussulmans.

The fort of Ráor is taken, and Dáhar's sister Báí burns herself to ashes.

Muhammad Kásim arrayed his army and set some miners to dig through the castle walls and make subterranean passages. He divided his army into two divisions, one of which commenced offensive operations by means of battering rams, arrows and lances, while the other threw naphtha torches and burning stones at night-time. The towers and bastions of the fort were thus soon destroyed. Dáhar's sister Báí then collected all the women in the fort and addressed them thus: "Jaisiah," said she, "is separated from us, and Muhammad Kásim has come. It is certain that we cannot escape the clutches of these Chandáls† and cow-eaters. Our glory is gone, and our term of life has come to its close. As there is no hope of safety and liberty, let us collect firewood and cotton and oil. The most expedient course for us, I think, is to burn ourselves to ashes, and thus quickly meet our

* This is lake Gujrí, according to the Tárikh Maasúmí as noted above and seems to have been connected with the river.

† Chandál is the word used in the text. It means a man of low caste—a Sudra.

husbands (in the other world). Whoever of you is inclined to go and ask mercy of the enemy, let her go. It is possible she may be saved and set at liberty." But all of them were of one mind, and so they entered a house and set fire to it, and were soon burnt to ashes. Muhammad Kásim now took possession of the fort, and halted there for three days, during which time he massacred 6,000 fighting men who were found in the fort. Some of them were shot with arrows. Their followers and dependents, as well as their women and children, were taken prisoners.

The number of slaves and the amount of cash and rich stuffs obtained as booty.

It is related that when the fort of Ráor was taken, all the treasures and arms that were in it were secured, except what had been taken away by Jaisiah with himself. All this booty was brought to Muhammad Kásim. The slaves were counted, and their number came to 60,000. Out of these, 30 were young ladies of royal blood, including Rái Dáhar's niece whose name was Hasanah.* Muhammad Kásim sent all these to Hajjáj, together with Dáhar's head, and one fifth of the treasure obtained as booty, for the royal coffers, in charge of Kaab son of Mubárik Rástí. When the head of Dáhar and the women and the treasure were brought to Hajjáj, he placed his forehead on the ground and offered prayers of thanks-giving, by two genuflections to God, and praised him, saying : "Now have I got all the treasures, whether open or buried, as well as other wealth and the kingdom of the world."

Hajjáj sends the head and banners of Dáhar to the capital of the Khalífah.

Hajjáj then sent Dáhar's head, and royal umbrellas and hostages and treasures to Walíd, the Khalífah of the time.† When the Khalífah read the letter, brought with the presents, he praised the great and glorious God. He sold some of those female slaves of royal birth, and some he presented to others. When he saw Hasanáh, Rái Dáhar's niece, he was struck with her beauty and fine features. Abdulláh son of Abbás applied to him for her hand. Walíd said "O my cousin, this girl is exceedingly beautiful and perfect in every way. I have

* This sounds more like a Mussulman name. It may be the translation of some Hindu name like Sundari.

† Who succeeded his father Abdul Malik son of Marwán.

become so enamoured of her that I should like to keep her for myself. But as you want her, it is much better that she should be your wife and bear you a son. She is more fit for you." Accordingly, with his permission, Abdulláh married her. They lived together for a long time but she never bore a child.*

A letter from Hajjáj after his receiving the report of the victory at Ráor.

The historian relates that when Ráor was taken, and the public affairs of the place were settled and Muhammad Kásim's report of his victory came to Hajjáj, the latter wrote the following letter in reply :— "My dear cousin, I have received your life-augmenting letter. On its receipt my gladness and joy knew no bounds. It increased my pride and glory to the highest degree. It appears from your letter that all the rules made by you for the comfort and convenience of your men are strictly in accordance with religious law. But the way of granting pardon prescribed by the law is different from the one adopted by you, for you go on giving pardon to everybody, high or low, without any discretion and without any distinction between a friend and a foe.† The great God says in the Koran :—'O true believers, when you encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads.' ‡ The above command of the Great God is a great command and must be respected and followed. You should not be so fond of showing mercy, as to nullify the virtue of the act. Henceforth grant pardon to no one of the enemy and spare none of them, or else all will consider you a weakminded man. Concluded with compliments. Written by Náfia in the year ninety-three."§

* I believe this is the same girl, who is mentioned in the last chapter; but there she is said to have been given in marriage to Kaab and not to Abdulláh. She was called Dáhar's niece but her name was not given. Or perhaps she was another niece of Dáhar's.

† Muhammad Kásim is repeatedly charged by Hajjáj with being lenient and merciful to infidels. This gives us some insight into the characters of the two.

‡ Chap. 47 part 26. The concluding part of the verse in continuation of the quotation in the text is "until ye have made a great slaughter among them; and bind them in bonds; and either give them a free dismission afterwards, or exact a ransom; until the war shall have laid down its arms." (Sale's translation.)

§ 711 A. D.

The writers of history, in giving an accoun of Dáhar's death and Muhammad Kásim's victory, have stated, on the authority of some old Brahimns, that when Rái Dáhar departed to Hell, Jaisiah threw himself within the walls of the fort of Brahimnábád to defend himself. When Ráor was completely lost, Jaisiah began to prepare for war again by collecting men and materials. He sent letters in different directions. First he wrote to his own brother Fófí son of Dáhar* who was in the fort of the capital city of Arór†, then to his nephew Chach son of Daharsiah at Bátiah, then to his cousin Dhal son of Chandar in the country of Budhia and Kíkáván. He informed all of them that Dáhar had been killed, and he invited them to join him and fight against their common enemy. Meanwhile he made the necessary preparations for war, and with some brave men made a stand against the enemy at Brahminábád.

Jaisiah sends letters from Brahimnábád to Arór and Bátiah and other places.

Muhammad Kásim now determined to march against Brahminábád. There were two fortified towns between Ráor and Brahminábád, called Bahrór and Dahlelah and there were about 16,000 fighting men in those forts. Muhammad Kásim went to Bahrór where the fighting was so prolonged that he was obliged to remain there for two months. Eventually he ordered that some of his men should fight during the day, and others should throw naphtha arrows and battering-ram stones at night. In this way, almost all the fighting men of the enemy were killed, and the castle walls were broken down. The survivors were taken prisoners, and a large booty was secured, one-fifth of which was duly sent to the royal treasury. When the news of the fall of Bahrór reached the people of Dahlelah, and they further learnt that Muhammad Kásim was so very powerful in war that safety was impossible, those of them who were merchants and traders went to various towns of Hind but those

Bahrór and Dahlelah are taken after a battle.

* In some copies this name is written as Kófí or Kúfí, but Fófí seems to be correct as it is used in the better copies.

† This is Alór, which name has been used throughout the book. Here it is written as Arór, which is the present name of the place.

who belonged to the military class remained behind to defend their country.

Muhammad Kásim now came up to Dahlelah, and there he halted for about two months, (to lay siege to the place). When the occupants of the fort were pressed very hard and they despaired of help from any direction, they put on the clothes of death and applied otto of roses and other sweet herbs to their bodies (as they used to do to dead bodies), and taking their families with them issued from the gate facing the town of Ramal and managed to cross the waters of the Manjhal,* without the knowledge of the Mussulmans.

Dahlelah is taken.

When day-light made its appearance from behind the curtain of dark-night, Muhammad Kásim came to know of their (secret) departure. He then despatched a band of soldiers in pursuit who overtook them just when they were crossing the small river. Some of them were caught and immediately struck down, but those who had already passed over, made their way *viá* Ramal to Hindustán, and sought shelter in the country of Sírú, which was then ruled by King Deurai, a cousin of Rái Dáhar's. When the war with Dahlelah was over, and Muhammad Kásim took possession of the town, he sent the fifth share of booty to the treasury of the Khalífah, and wrote a letter to Hajjáj, in which he gave a detailed account of his successes at Bahrór and Dahlelah.

Surrender of wazír Siyákar.

Muhammad Kásim, then wrote letters to the rulers of Hind and other places, calling upon them all to surrender and to accept the faith of Islám. When Siyákar, Dáhar's wazír, heard of this he sent some of his confidential servants to Muhammad Kásim proposing to surrender if his life were spared. He followed his messengers, and appeared before the Arab general with those very Mussulman women, who had been captured and had been retained as hostages. These were the same women who had called Hajjáj by name to hear their complaint and to come to their help.†

* This was a small river as mentioned below.

† In fact, who had been the cause of this whole expedition.

Muhammad Kásim received Siyákar, in an honourable manner, and poured innumerable favours upon him, and entrusted to him the office of wazír. By Muhammad Kásim's advice, he became a Mussulman, and thenceforth he became Muhammad Kásim's counseller, and on all occasions of confidential consultation he used to be with Muhammad Kásim who always sought his advice. In the disposal of political matters and the settlement of state affairs, he was always useful to the Arab general. He used to tell him:—"The scheme enunciated by the just Amír is so sensible and expedient that all the kingdoms of Hind will come into his possession. The laws of government, and the permanent elements of empire of which it is composed will ultimately disarm and subdue all your enemies. It soothes the subjects and tributaries, secures strict obedience to the law laid down by you, dispenses with any necessity for oppression or compulsion in regard to increased taxes or extraordinary contributions, and gratifies your friends and subordinate officers." He gave the governorship of Dahlelah to Banúnah son of Dháran. Some say after taking Dahlelah Muhammad Kásim called Banúnah son of Dháran, received homage from him and entrusted to him the work of collecting and superintending the boats along the bank of the river from Dahlelah to a place called Wadhatiah. The distance between that place and Brahminábád was one league, and before long Jaisiah son of Dáhar got the news that the army of Islám was on its way to Brahminábád.

Siyákar is appointed a wazír again.

Muhammad Kásim now moved on till he came to the bank of the small channel of Halwáí to the East of Brahminábád, and he fixed his camp there. He sent messengers and trustworthy men to Branminábád, calling upon the people of the place to submit and to be enlisted among the faithful. He proposed to them the alternative of accepting Islám or giving tribute. If they would not choose either, they were told to prepare for war. Jaisiah son of Dáhar had gone to Janesar, before the arrival of the above messengers. He picked out 16 men from the notables of the place and posted four of them at each of the

The Arab army encamps at the lake of Halwáí, and sends a messenger to Brahminábád calling upon the people to accept Islám.

four gates of the city, with their respective bands of soldiers. One of these gates was called Jarbaterí or Bahár and another Sátia, the third Manórah and the fourth Sálbah. When Muhammad Kásim arrived, he ordered a ditch to be dug, and on Saturday the first of the month of Rajjib, fighting commenced.* Every day the infidels came out with drums and gave battle. They were about 40,000 fighting men in number. From morning till late in the evening, both the parties used to fight fiercely with each other, and when the sun, the king of stars, was about to set, they used to go back to their respective camps; that is, the Mussulmans to their trenches and the *káfirs* to their fort. In this way they warred for six months. When Muhammad Kásim despaired of taking the fort, his mind became full of anxiety. It was now the close of the month of Zi Hajj 93.†

Jaisiah had shifted to the country ruled by king Ramal, called Bátiah, and from there he used to harass the army of Islám and rob them on highways.

A confidential servant is sent to Mókah Basáyeh.

Muhammad Kásim sent a confidential servant to Mókah Basáyeh, and informed him that Jaisiah caused trouble off and on, injured grass-cutters and harassed the troops in many other ways, and he consulted Mókah as to how Jaisiah should be checked. Mókah sent the following reply: "He is at present residing near your camp, and so you should move thence and send a few respectable and trustworthy men from your army after him to extirpate him and his party. There is no other remedy." Accordingly Muhammad Kásim asked Banánah son of Khantilah Kilábí, Atiyyeh Saalabí, Sárim son of Abí Sárim Hamadání and Abdul Malik Madaní to prepare for that undertaking with their horsemen, and appointed Mókah

* The year of course is 94 A. H. (712 A. D. and not 713 as in the Sind Gazetteer).

† This is wrong. It must be 94 (A. D. 712). The reason is clear. The date of the fall of Alór is Ramzan 93. The battle is said to have been fought in Rajjib, which precedes Ramzan by two months. So it must be the Rajjib of 94, and therefore, this Zi Hajj, which is the third month after Ramzan, also belongs to the year 94. It will be seen lower down that in the next month, Muharram 94, Muhammad Kásim proceeded to Sáwandi.

Basáyeh and Hazím son of Amrú Musá as their leaders. He supplied them with sufficient provisions for the journey, and sent them off, and they soon arrived at their destination. When Jaisiah received the news of the approach of the Arab army, he lost no time in leaving the place with his valuables and his family, and, passing through a sandy desert, he came to Chankan and Ura Okáyah belonging to the province of Jitór. There Aláfí separated from him, and proceeded to the province of Tákiah, and thence, with the intention of taking shelter with the king of Kashmír, came to the frontier of Ráwim, close to Ráwistán. The country was all a desert and an extensive plain. From there he wrote letters to the king of Kashmír whose capital was situated further up in the midst of hills, protesting his sincerity, and praying for a refuge.

* Aláfí goes to visit the Ráná of Kashmír.

The Ráná of Kashmír, after reading the letters, ordered one of the towns, in the skirts of Kashmír, known by the name of †Shakalbár to be granted to Aláfí. Later on when Aláfí paid a visit to the Ráná, the latter gave 50 saddled horses‡ and 200 valuable robes of honour, as presents to his companions. Aláfí then asked Jehm son of Samah Shámí§ to go with him and remain in the alienated town of Shakalbár. When Aláfí went again to pay a visit to the Rái of Kashmír, the latter again received him with due honour and distinction, and made gifts to him of an umbrella, a chair and a palanquin. Such honour, according to the prevalent custom of those days, was accorded only to kings. He then sent him back with honour and eclât to the land assigned to him, which was situated in a valley. After some time Aláfí died at Shakalbár and was succeeded by Jehm son of Samah, and his line survives up to this time. He built many mosques and enjoyed great respect and dignity at the Kashmír court.

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* Some copies read Jaisiah here for Aláfí. That this is a mistake is clear from the omission of the head-note of the next para in those copies. Aláfí and Jaisiah separated here. Aláfí went to the province of Kashmír and Jaisiah to Jitór. Jaisiah goes to Kashmir later on, after passing some time at Kurij, as will be seen lower down.

† In some copies the final *r* is not written but in some other places in the same copies the correct name is written.

‡ Literally, with their backs begirt with a girth or trappings.

§ This man seems to be one of the chief men of Aláfí's band.

Jaisiah went to the province of Jitór and resided there temporarily. He wrote a letter thence to Fófí son of Dáhar at Alór communicating to him the reasons for his movements and changes of camp, and advising him strongly to defend the fort of Alór. That letter buoyed up Fófí Dáhar's spirits. When Muhammad Kásim's siege of Brahminábád was prolonged to 6 months, and when it was known that Jaisiah was at Janesar, four of the leading citizens, heads of mercantile houses residing in the fort of Brahminábád, met at the fort gate called Jarbaterí to confer with one another. They said: "The Arab army has proved triumphant over the whole of the country, Dáhar is killed, and for the last 6 months we have remained confined within the walls of this fort. We have not strength enough to cope with the Arab general in the battle-field, and there seems no probability of peace or even of a truce. If he continues in this way for a few days more, he will be ultimately victorious, for there is no one anywhere to hear us and to come to our help, and we must give up every hope of succour. There is among us no king to whom we can appeal, and it is impossible for us to fight on any longer against this army. Now, therefore, let us unite in going out of the fort and fighting till we are killed. For, even, if peace is made they will put to death all the men among us who are capable of bearing arms; only common folk, the traders the artisans and the cultivators will be spared. (There is yet another alternative.) If we could be sure of our safety, we would prefer to hand over the fort to him after a solemn covenant is made between us. If we submit to him, he may show us some regard, and we may thus save ourselves through his intervention." Having (eventually) formed this (latter) resolution, they threw themselves with their families and children on his mercy, and prayed for pardon. Muhammad Kásim granted pardon to them, after solemn promises were mutually made. All the other people capable of bearing arms were beheaded and their followers and dependents made prisoners. All prisoners of or under the age of 30 years were put in chains, and many were killed, while tribute was fixed on the rest.

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When Muhammad Kásim received the message of the men of Brahminábád, he called all the nobles and the grandees and communicated it to them and said: "The envoys from Brahminábád have come. Hear what they say and give them a reply after due consideration." Mókah Basáyeh said: "O commander of all the cities of Hind, this fortified city is the chief. It is the capital of a whole kingdom. If you conquer this one city, the whole of Sind will come into your possession, and many a strong and impregnable fortress will be within your power and control. The people of the surrounding places will, then, break their connection with and cease to have any regard for, the children of Dáhar. Some will run away and others will voluntarily put the yoke of allegiance on their necks." Muhammad Kásim then wrote of all this to Hajjáj, and at the same time gave a reply to the envoys fixing a day for the carrying out of their promised plan, which they had informed him was that on the appointed day, they would all come to the Jarbaterí gate and issue in a body to fight with him, and that when the two armies met, the Arab army was to suddenly make an assault, whereupon they were to run away and re-enter the fort leaving the gate open.

A tradition.

After Hajjáj's letter was received, in reply, to the effect that pardon might be granted to the men in question and the terms of the promise faithfully kept, the men came out from the fort (on the day fixed for the pretended sortie) and engaged in fight for a while. But when the Arab army assaulted them and fell upon them, they fled back into the fort and left the gate unclosed, in order that the Arabs should take possession of it. Accordingly the Arab army followed them closely into the fort, and without any resistance ascended the towers and bastions of the fort, and the Mussalmans' war-cry, "Allahu Akbar," ("God is great") rang out all around. When the garrison saw that the Arab army had made a rush, they opened the eastern gate and flocked out in flight. The Mussalmans were now completely masters of the place. Muhammad Kásim issued an order that none should be killed, except those who offered any opposition or showed fight. Those who were seen with arms were caught and made prisoners, and brought to Muhammad Kásim with their military weapons

Hajjáj's reply.

and valuables and with their families and followers. Those who paid homage and asked for mercy were pardoned and left to reside in their own houses.

Jaisiah and Raí Dáhar's queen make a stand.

It is related in traditions received from some noteworthy old men of Brahminábád, that when the fort of Brahminábád was completely lost, Dáhar's queen Ládí who, with the king's son had been at Brahminábád since Dáhar's death, determined to make a stand against the enemy. She said: "It does not behove us to leave this strong fort and our families. We must anyhow manage to hold on and make a vigorous attack on the enemy in order to save our homes and our native land; and if the Arab army prove victorious, we shall have recourse to some other remedy. She then brought out her treasure and spent it on the brave soldiers of her army, and, with encouraging words, inspiring them with fresh strength, carried on the struggle near another gate. The resolution, which Ládí had formed was that in case of the fall of the fort, she would throw herself together with her followers and children, into a burning fire. The fort, however, was, all of a sudden, taken by the enemy. All the nobles and faithful followers flocked to the gate of Dáhar's palace, and the members of the Rái's family came out prepared to put an end to their lives, but they were captured.* Subsequently when the booty and the prisoners were brought to Muhammad Kásim, he made it widely known among the soldiery that Dáhar's wife Ládí and his two virgin daughters by another wife† who had been in the fort, should be produced before him. This was done, and these ladies were given in charge of an attendant and seated apart from the other prisoners. In order to detach the usual one-fifth share of the State, a selection was made from the slaves and other spoils. The number of these selected slaves came to about 20,000. The rest were distributed among the troops.

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* This is evidently a different version given by the author, for it has been said above, as we have seen, that Ládí was captured at Alór and not at Brahminábád and that she became Muhammad Kásim's wife.

† Besids Báí, his sister and nominal queen and Ládí his real wife, Dáhar seems to have had another wife.

Those of the prisoners, who belonged to the classes of artisans, traders and common folk, were let alone, as Muhammad Kásim had extended his pardon to those people. He next came to the place of execution and in his presence ordered all the men belonging to the military classes to be beheaded with swords. It is said that about 6,000 fighting men were massacred on this occasion; some say 16,000. The rest were pardoned.

Muhammad Kásim gives pardon to the people.

It is related by some that at first, they could not find any members of Dáhar's family amongst the prisoners. Enquiries were made from the chief men of the city, but no one could give any information or clue as to them. The next day about 1,000 men from amongst the Brahmins of the place came to the court of Muhammad Kásim with their heads and beards clean shaved. When Muhammad Kásim saw them, he enquired: "To what army does this body of men, who have come here in this shape, belong?" The men themselves replied: "O Commander, who are a faithful observer of promises, our king was a Brahmin. When he was killed and the reins of the kingdom were taken away from him, some of his subjects killed themselves out of excessive love and loyalty towards him, and others shaved their heads and beards. Now that the great and omnipotent God has entrusted this kingdom to your charge, we have come here to pay our respects to the just commander and to know his will as to the survivors." Muhammad Kásim was very much astonished, and said:—"By my head and soul, these are really good and faithful people. I give them pardon on condition that they find out and produce the members of Dáhar's family wherever they may be."

A tradition about the family members of Dáhar at Brahminábád.

On this solemn promise being made, the Brahmins produced Ládí from her inner-most private apartments. As for the rest of the people, a tribute was fixed on them under the rules laid down by the holy Prophet of God (may the blessings of God be on him and his descendants). He who received the honour of Islám and become a convert was exempt from slavery as well as tribute and was not injured. Those, however, who did not accept the true

Muhammed Kásim promises to pardon the Brahmins.

faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (*jizia*). These latter were divided by him into three classes. The first and highest class had to pay 48 dirams of silver in weight per head.* The second or the middle class, had to pay 24 dirams in weight, and the third or the lowest class, had to pay 12 dirams in weight only. He then dismissed them with the following words: "I let you go this day. Those among you who become Mussalmans and come within the fold of Islám shall have their tribute remitted, but those who are still inclined to be of their own faith, must put up with injuries (*gazand*) and tribute (*jizia*) to retain the religion of their fathers and grandfathers." Thereupon some resolved to live in their native land, but others took to flight in order to maintain the faith of their ancestors, and their horses, domestics, and other property were taken away from them.

Brahminábád left in charge of the chief men of the place.

Muhammad Kásim, then, settled tribute on the principal men (who had surrendered the city), according to their rank and circumstances, and left the management of all internal affairs in their hands. He, however, posted guards at each of the four gates of the fortified city. He presented a dress of honour and a saddled horse to each (of the principal men) and placed precious ornaments of Hind on his hands and feet. He also allowed an honourable seat to each of them in his own court.

A census of artisans and traders taken.

He then ordered a census to be taken of all the merchants and artisans. About 1,000 men from amongst the ordinary public were thus counted out. Muhammad Kásim ordered a capitation tax of 12 dirams of silver in weight only to be fixed on each of them as they had already lost their property by plunder. He next appointed headmen and village chiefs to collect the revenue and charged them with the duty of collecting the tribute from all the townspeople and villagers, and thus provided them with sufficient means of subsistence and support.

A petition made by the Brahmins.

When the Brahmins saw the consideration shown by the Arab General to the headmen, they came to him with a petition

* A diram (or dirham) is equal to 3½ masas in weight and a másá is $\frac{1}{12}$th of a túlá. Diram is also the name of a small coin.

(praying that a similar favour be shown to them), and all the great and chief men of the place testified to the fact that, in the last reign, they were much honoured and revered. Muhammad Kásim, therefore, paid them proper respect, and issued an order that they be shown the same reverence as before. They were, thus, in every way, free from trouble and violence. Muhammad Kásim (also) gave every one of them a proper appointment. As he was quite sure, now, that no harm or mischief would result from them, he conferred on every one of them the same post which he had held in the reign of Rái Chach. He then called a conference of all the Brahmins in the town, and addressed them as follows:—

"In the reign of Dáhar, you held responsible posts, and you must be knowing all the people of the city as well as of the country all around. You must inform us which of them are noteworthy and celebrated and deserve kindness and patronage at our hands; so that we may show proper favour to them, and make grants to them. As I have come to entertain a good opinion of you, and have full trust in your faithfulness and sincerety, I confirm you in your previous posts. The management of all the affairs of State, and its administration, I leave in your able hands, and this (right) I grant (also) to your children and descendants hereditarily, and you need fear no alteration or cancellation of the order thus issued."

The Brahmins go to the villagers in the province with happy hearts.

Henceforth, the Brahmins and the officers newly appointed spread themselves over different parts of the country, and told the people: "O ye respectable and well-known gentlemen of the place, all of you know that Dáhar is killed, and that the rule of the infidels has terminated entirely. Now all the country, whether Sind or Hind, is under the absolute sway of the people of Arabia. Before them, the highest and the lowest, the townsmen and the countrymen, are alike, and whatever we few do, must be considered as done under the direction of the great king. They have sent us to you on a mission, having given us splendid hopes. If we would not submit to these Arabs and obey them, neither any property will be left with us nor any other means of subsistence. We are reduced to a helpless condition, and it is only through the kindness and goodness of the masters of the

kingdom, that we can hope to secure position or respect. Otherwise we will be instantly driven away, and cut off root and branch from our native land. If you do not submit to the payment of the tribute fixed on you, we may have to bear a heavier burden still. We shall, however be on the look-out for a favourable opportunity to emigrate to some town in the land of Hind and Sind with our families, and then we shall be quite safe. We must needs go to such a place, for nothing is more valuable to a man than his personal safety. When we extricate ourselves from our dangerous position, and save ourselves from being molested by the Arab army, then only can we securely enjoy the possession of our family and property."

A tribute is fixed on the people of the town and the country.

The country people now came to Muhammad Kásim and agreed to pay the tribute. They enquired from him as to what amount they had to pay to Government, and what to the Brahmins whom the Arab commander had appointed to collect the revenue. Muhammad Kásim, then counselled his officers, telling them : "You should behave honestly towards the king as well as towards the people. When you have to divide among many sharers, divide justly and equally. Tax every person according to his means and circumstances. You should co-operate with one another, and never let disagreement creep among you, so that your country may not be devastated." Then, Muhammad Kásim spoke words of comfort to every one of them separately, and told them all : "Be of good cheer, and do not entertain any anxiety, or fear of (arbitrary) punishment on my part. I am not going to compel you to pass a bond or written document; but be paying regularly, of your own accord, the tribute fixed on you. I shall try to shew you favour, and disregard your little failings. If any of you has any request to make, let him make it openly, that I may hear it and give a proper reply to it, and gratify the wishes of each."

Muhammad Kásim gives a mandate (Misál) to the people of Brahminábád.

Thenceforth, the Brahmins received their customary dues from the traders and other infidels and the thakurs, and they freely worshipped their idols. Thus, these people led a happy life, but the keepers of idol-houses and temples became poor and needy, as they depended for their living on the gifts and charities of the

people, and the people, through fear of the Mussalman soldiery, did not continue their offerings. So these men came to the door of Muhammad Kásim's residence, and raised their hands in prayer, and sent a message to him, saying: "May the just governor live long! we are monks and priests. We used to live so long on the earnings of Budh temples. When you have shown so much mercy and kindness to the traders and other infidels, who have guaranteed to pay the fixed capitation tax and have become *zimmís* (protected), we, your slaves also entertain the same hope of your lordly kindness, and request that you will kindly intimate your permission to them to visit Budh temples, and to worship what they worshipped before.

Muhammad Kásim's reply.

Muhammad Kásim replied:—"The capital of this kingdom is Alór, and all these places are only in the surrounding territory dependent upon it." The Hindus said: "In this country, the existence and prosperity of towns depends on the Brahmins, who are our learned men and philosophers. All our affairs, on occasions of mirth or mourning, are conducted and completed through their medium, and we agreed to pay the tax, and to subject ourselves to (Mussalman) scorn (*gazand*), in the hope that every one will be permitted to continue in his own religion. Now, our temples are lying desolate and in ruins, and we have no opportunity to worship our idols. We pray that our just commander will permit us to repair and construct our Budh temples and carry on our worship as before. And then our Brahimins will receive enough from us for their living."

Muhammad Kásim's letter to Hajjáj and the latter's reply.

Muhammad Kásim wrote about this to Hajjáj, and in a few days he received a reply, which ran as follows:—"I have received my dear cousin Muhammad Kásim's letter, and have become acquainted with its contents. With regard to the request of the chiefs of Brahminábád about the building of Budh temples, and toleration in religious matters, I do not see (when they have done homage to us by placing their heads in the yoke of submission, and have undertaken to pay the fixed tribute for the Khalífah and guaranteed its payment), what further rights we have over them beyond the usual tax. Because after they have become *zimmís*

(protected subjects) we have no right whatever to interfere with their lives or their property. Do, therefore, permit them to build the temples of those they worship. No one is prohibited from or punished for following his own religion, and let no one prevent them from doing so, so that they may live happy in their own homes "*

This letter came to Muhammad Kásim's hands, when he was encamped in the suburbs, he having marched out of the town. He called all the chiefs and headmen and Brahmins and told them that they were thenceforth permitted to build the temples of their gods, to freely carry on commerce with the Mussalmans, and live happy and safe. (He also told them) to work for their own welfare, to give charity, to show kindness to the Brahmins and Fakírs, to follow their customs, to celebrate their holidays (*I'ds*) like their fathers and grandfathers, to continue their offerings to their Brahmins, as in ancient times, and to give three out of every hundred dirams of revenue to them and to pay the rest into the treasury to be accounted for by the officers and the deputy. He also fixed the salaries of the officers and the pensions of the nobles. These arrangements were made through Tamím son of Zaid Kaisí, and Hakam son of Awán Kalbí, at the express desire of the people. It was also settled that the Brahmins were at liberty to go about begging at the doors of houses, with a copper bowl, and collecting corn in it, and to utilize such corn in any way they liked. This practice has since been very common among the infidels.

Muhammad Kásim gives a written pardon to the residents of Brahminábád.

Muhammad Kásim, then complied with the prayer made by the people in the suburbs of Braminábád, and permanently settled their affairs in the same way and on the same lines, as had been followed in the case of the Jews, Fire-worshippers, Nazarenes and Magians of Irák and Syria. He then sent them back to their homes; and to their headmen he gave the generic name of Ráná.† He then sent for Wazír Siyákar and Mókah Basáyeh, and asked them as to how the Jats of

* In the early days of the Khalífate this practice was constantly followed.

† The word, as written in the text means beautiful or foolish and vain, but it represents the Sindhi word Râná.

the Lúhánah tribe had been treated by Chach and Dáhar, and how matters now stood in regard to them. Wazír Siyákar replied in the presence of Mókah Basáyeh: "In the reign of Rái Chach the Lúhánahs, that is, the Lákháhs and the Sammáhs* were not allowed to use soft clothes of silk or velvet. On the contrary they used to wear a rough black blanket, and put on a rough coarse scarf on their shoulders, and they went about with bare head and feet. If any one of them wore some soft stuff, he was fined, and when they went out of their houses, they used to take a dog with them, in order that they might easily be distinguished from the other tribes. None of their elders or chiefs was allowed to ride a horse. If any guides were required anywhere by any prince, they served as such. In fact it was their business to show the way as guides upto the limits of another tribe. If any headman or Rána was obliged to use a horse, he rode it without any saddle or reins, and with only a blanket on its back. If an accident occurred to any traveller, the Jat tribes were called to help, and it was the duty of their headmen to see that such help was given readily. If any one of them committed theft, his children and the other members of his family were thrown into flames and burnt. They guided caravans on their way both during day time and at night. Among them there is no distinction of high and low; they are all of the wild nature of brutes. They have always been refractory and disobedient to the rulers; and are in the habit of committing highway robberies. In the robberies committed some time ago on the high roads of Debal, they were probably concerned as accomplices. It was also a duty of theirs to supply firewood for the royal kitchen, to collect provisions for the personal use of the king, and to keep watch over his person, as his body guards."

A tradition.

Hearing this account of the Lúhánah Jats, Muhammad Kásim is said to have remarked: "what a villainous set of people these are. They are quite like the wild men, living in some villages of Fárs and Mount Payeh, and they should now be treated as such." Muhammad Kásim, therefore, thought it proper to deal with them exactly in the same

* This shows that the Lákháhs and the Sammáhs were Lúhánahs and were all Hindus originally.

way, and following the rule made applicable by the commander of the faithful, Umar, son of Khattab, (may the great God be pleased with him) to the people of Syria, he ordered that if any stranger or a traveller should arrive within their limits, they were bound to entertain him with food as a guest for a day and night, and if he fell sick, for three days.

Muhammad Kásim sends a letter to Hajjáj son of Yúsif.

When Muhammad Kásim had disposed of the work of settling the affairs of Brahminábád and the Lúhánáhs, and of fixing a punitive tribute on the Jats, he wrote to Hajjáj son of Yúsif of his proceedings. He said that he was writing from his camp higher up the river of Halwáí near Brahminábád, and gave him detailed information as to the subjugation of Sind. In due course of time Hajjáj sent the following reply: "O my cousin Muhammad Kásim, praise and credit is due to you for all that you have done or tried to do in maintaining your position as commander of the army, in showing favour and courtesy to the people in general, in improving their condition and in satisfactorily settling the State affairs. What you have done in fixing assessments on each Mauza, and in encouraging every class of people to follow the path of law in their worldly business, cannot but conduce to the permanency of the kingdom and to the systematic administration of the country. You should not now stick to that city (Brahminábád) any longer. The props of the kingdom of Hind and Sind are the towns of Alór and Multán. Those two cities are the capitals of kings, and, in them, lie the external and internal treasures of kings. Select that town for your residence which is the best and the most pleasant, so that, from it, you may command the entire kingdom of Hind and Sind. Whoever refuses to submit to the power of Islám, let him be killed. The great God will help you in this cause. It should be your anxiety to extend your conquests from the country of Hind to the limits of China. I have appointed Amír Katabiah son of Muslim Kuraishí, and send him to you with fresh recruits. Hand over all your hostages to his charge. Arrange in such a way, O my uncle's son, that your name may be widely known, and your enemies be subdued and mortified. The great God's will be done."

Muhammad Kásim perused Hajjáj's letters, (carefully) on receiving them. He had written: "O Muhammad Kásim, be always consulting me by means of letters; that is the essence of cleverness. Owing to the long (intervening) distance I cannot know every thing so well as I should. You should try to induce the people to submit, and to obey. Appoint four of the chief men of the town to carry on the administrative affairs of the country, and issue an immediate and absolute order to that effect." Accordingly Muhammad Kásim called Widáa son of Hámid Najdí, and entrusted to him the superintendence of the affairs of the town of Brahminábád, that is, Bánbanwáh* and asked him to appoint village tax-gatherers and local officers. He gave the management of money matters and revenue accounts to the charge of four persons from amongst the merchants of the place, with strict orders that each and every thing was to be brought to the notice of Widáa, and that they were never to do a thing or dispose of any business without first consulting him. Next he posted Nabah son of Daris to the fortified town of Ráor, and asked him to look after that town and (watch the river traffic), and to collect boats. If any boat coming from the upper part of the river, and, sailing down, contained any weapons or other military stores, it was to be stopped, and its contents were to be removed to the fort of Ráor. The collection of boats higher up was entrusted to Ibn Ziyád Abdí. All the country ruled by Dróhar, king of Kúrij was given to Huzail son of Sulaimán Azdí, and Khantilah son of Bananah Kílábí was made the governor of Dahlelah. Every one of these officers was ordered to make full enquiries as to the state of affairs in his charge, and to communicate the result, every month, after careful verification. He also advised all of them to assist one another, in case an enemy's army invaded the country, or caused disaffection or revolt among the people. They were further instructed to keep an eye on the unruly and the mischievous, and to chastise them. He gave them 2,000 infantry for the purpose. He also nominated Kais Abdul Malik, son of Kais Dini and Khálid Ansári to the charge of Siwistán; and deputed Masúd Tamímí son of Shaibah

Hajjáj's letters are received.

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* Bánbanwáh is the present name of the place.

Jadídí, Farasatí Atkí, Sáhir Lashkarí Abdul Malik son of Abdullah Khazáí, Mahní son of Akkah, and Wafá son of Abdurrahmán to Dahlelah and Nerún to settle that part of the country. Among the emancipated slaves, there was one by name Málik, who was very enterprising. Him, he sent as his officer to Kardáíl. Alwán Bahkrí and Kais son of Saalabah with 300 followers of theirs chose to become permanent residents. They married and begot children, and completely subjugated and tamed the Jats.

An account of Mír Muhammad, the ruler of Sawandí Sammah.

It is related that when Muhammad Kásim satisfactorily settled the affairs of Bánbanwáh, and put on a firm footing his power in the Eastern and the Western Districts and the country round about the town (of Bánbanwáh), he marched out on Thursday, the third of the month of Muharram of the year 94,* and alighted at a town called Musthal, in the vicinity of Sawandí and close to a beautiful lake with a pleasant meadow, called Dhandh Wikarbhá, and on the bank of this Dhandh (lake) he made his camp. The residents of the place and its surrounding country were Samanís, † Bahzams and merchants. All these men came forward to pay respect to Muhammad Kásim, and he pardoned them all, (as he had orders from Hajjáj to that effect,) and allowed them to live happy and safe in the place of their birth and to regularly send the tribute fixed on them to the public treasury. He appointed two of them to be their headmen,—one a Samaní by name Báwad and another a Buddhist, by name Zaman (or Baman) Dhól. All the rustics of the Jat tribe living about the place put their heads in the yoke of submission, and to all of them he gave pardon in accordance with the written orders of Hajjáj. He sent a report of all these matters, and when Hajjáj came to know of the smooth working of the administration he wrote a reply as follows:

"My distinct orders are that all those who are fighting men (*ahl harb*) should be assassinated, and their sons and daughters imprisoned and retained as hostages. Spare

* A. D 712. This is the first month of the year.

† Men of the priestly or monkish class, and the following word Bahzam seems to be a general name for artisans.

those whose submission will be useful in the end, and those in whose lands streams of fresh and limpid water flow. Let tributes and taxes be fixed on them. As for the merchants and artizans, let them have light burdens. Those who know the work of building houses and cultivating land, let them carry on their callings freely and diligently. Show kindness and leniency to them in revenue matters. Take only one-tenth on the property and land-produce of those who receive the honour of Islám; while those who remain in their own religion should be required to pay to the officers the usual tax from the income of their handicraft or cultivation." Muhammad Kásim then marched from the said place and came to Bahrówar. There, he called Sulaiman son of Bahtan, and Abú Fiddah Kishórí, an emancipated slave of Kand, and, after adjuring them in the name of God and of Kand's children, asked them to carefully carry on the local administration, which he left in their charge. At the same time he called upon the people to show due regard to Juned son of Amrú and Baní Tamím. Next he sent Muhammad to the people of Bharj, to live among them, and Amrú son of Mukhtár Hanafí was appointed governor of the place, with a band of brilliant soldiers for its protection.

The Sammahs come forward to receive the Arab general.

Muhammad Kásim then proceeded to that part of the country where the Sammahs lived.* When he approached them, the people came forward dancing to the music of drums and pipes. Muhammad Kásim enquired as to the cause of their boisterous assembly, and he was informed that there was an old custom among them to come forward playing and dancing, and make merry to receive a new king on his arrival. Házam son of Amrú then instantly walked up to Muhammad Kásim and said: "It is incumbent on us that we should glorify

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* The author of the Sindh Gazetteer observes:—"The Sammahs may be considered as represented at an early period by Samba, the governor of Debal on the part of Chach, the Hindu King of Sindh. They were either Budhists or Hindus, with their capital city at Sammanagar, on the Indus, supposed to be on the site of the modern Sehwan, but it is evident, the princes of this dynasty resided mostly at Tatta, or rather at Samui, under the Makli hills, about 3 miles north west of Tatta."

and praise the great and the Omnipotent God, and offer thanks to Him, who has made these people submit to us, and has caused our command to be obeyed throughout this country." This Házam was a very sensible and intelligent man, and was honest and religious. Muhammad Kásim smiled and said: "I appoint you these people's governor," and he ordered the men to dance and play before him. Házam, immediately, gave them 20 dinars of western gold as a present,* and said: "This seems to be a royal ceremony, performed at the approach of a ruler, to express joy and thanks to God. May this happy rule remain permanent over them."

Muhammad Kásim marches to the country of the Sahtahs.

The narrator of this history states on the authority of Alí son of Muhammad son of Abdur-rahmán, son of Abdulláh Sálití, that when Muhammad Kásim finished the settlement of the affairs of the Luhánahs, he came to the land of the Sahtahs. The rural classes with their headmen came out bare-headed and bare-footed, and asked for mercy and pardon. Muhammad Kásim pardoned them all, fixed tribute on them, and took some hostages from them. He then wanted to have a sketch of all the stages and camping places on the way thence up to Alór. The guides supplied this and said: "Alór, the capital city of Hind, is the biggest town in the whole of Sind. Its inhabitants are mostly artisans and merchants and cultivators. Fófí son of Rái Dáhar has made that fortified town the chief city of his kingdom. No one dare speak of Dáhar's death before him. He says that Dáhar is still alive and that he (Dáhar) has gone to Hind to bring an army, with the intention of again engaging the Arabs with their help and assistance." Muhammad Kásim continued his march till he came to within a mile of that city, and fixed his camp just opposite the fort, and there he spent about a month. During this time he built a mosque in which he used to deliver orations every Friday.†

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* A dinar is equal to about 2¼ Rs. of our time.

† No Sind tribes are mentioned in the Chachnámah except the Lákhahs Sammahs, Sahtahs and Lúhánahs. But the Tárikh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám mention along with the Lúhánahs and Sahtahs, Chands Machhis, Hálahs, and Kourejahs who all surrendered through Abdurrahmán son of Ali Saliti.

(On the approach of Muhammad Kásim), fighting commenced forthwith between the Arabs and the people of Alór, who still entertained hopes that Dáhar was about to bring them succour. They loudly told the Arabs from the top of the ramparts: "You ought to feel some compassion for your own selves, for Dáhar is about to come with his allies and a large army consisting of numerous elephants and cavalry and infantry, and he will hunt you down. We are just coming out of the fort to put your army to flight. Return to us our wealth and property; have some pity on your own lives, and run away that you may not be put to death. Do you listen to our advice."

Fighting with the people of Alór.

When Muhammad Kásim saw that they had made a firm stand against him, and were fighting furiously, not believing for a moment, that Dáhar had been killed, he made Ládí, Dáhar's wife whom he had purchased out of the spoils and made her his wife, ride the same black camel, which she used to ride during Dáhar's life-time, and sent her with some trustworthy men to the front of the fort. There she spoke out to the people saying: "O residents of the fort, I have to tell you something and give you some good advice. Stand in a line, that I may speak to you." A number of the chiefs then appeared on the top of the walls. Ládí then unveiled her face and said: "I am Ládí, wife of Dáhar. Our King is killed and his head has been sent to the capital of the Khalífahs, in Irák, together with his standards and umbrellas. You should not expose yourselves to trouble and ruin, and throw not yourselves with your own hands into perdition."† Saying so, she set up a wail, and wept bitterly and began to sing dirges. But the men standing on the top of the ramparts said: "You are telling a lie; you, too, have conspired with these *Chandáls* and cow-eaters and are united with them. Our king is still

Muhammad Kásim purchases Dáhar's wife Ládí out of the spoils.*

* This is evidently a wrong heading of the para. The fact of Ládí becoming the wife of Muhammad Kásim has been already given. Here she only goes to speak to the people at Alór.

† Koran Chap. 2 part 2. Ládí quoting the Korán must have been a sight for gods and men. But we are familiar with this trick of our author's.

living. He is soon to come with a large army and numerous troops and furious elephants, to defeat the enemy. You have mixed with the Arabs and defiled yourself. You prefer their rule to ours." They then began to abuse her. Muhammad Kásim came to know of this, and sent back for Ládí, and said :—"Sovereignty has after all turned away from the house of Seláij."

Interrogation of a sorceress about Dáhar's death.

The writers of this history have stated that in the fort of Alór there was a sorceress, of the Hindú Jógi class. Fófí Dáhar * and other nobles of the town went to her, and told her :—"We have hopes that with the help of your knowledge of magic, you will inform us as to where Rái Dáhar is now." The sorceress said: "Leave me to-day, that I may consult my science, and make secret enquiries about the matter, and then I shall let you know." She then went into her private apartments, and after about a watch, she re-appeared with a branch of a pepper-plant and another of a nutmeg plant in her hand, from Sarandeb, † bearing fresh buds, and green flowers and fruit, and said: "I have travelled over the whole world from one end to the other, and specially in Hind and Sind, but I could find no trace of him (Dáhar) any where, nor could I hear anything about him. You should shift for yourselves. If he had been alive, I would have certainly known it, and he could not have remained concealed from me. For the verification of my statement, I have here brought for you green branches from Sarandeb, that you may not entertain any evil doubt. For myself, I am quite sure that your king is not alive on the face of the earth."

The fort of Alór is surrundered on certain solemn conditions.

When this news got abroad, the residents of the town, high and low, said to one-another: "We have been so long hearing about Muhammad Kásim's piety and probity, his watchfulness, his justice, his virtue, his equity,

* As noted already, in several copies of the book, this name is sometimes written as Kúfí and sometimes Fófí, but in the Tuhfatulkirám the correct name Fófí, is used. It would appear that it was the sons of Dáhar, who fought with the Arabs at Alór and this fighting is put down by the Tuhfatulkirám as having occurred in the beginning of the year 94 (A. D. 712), and three of Dáhar's sons are mentioned namely, Faisiah, Fófí and Wakiah.

† Ceylon.

his kindness, his faithfulness in the observance of promises, and his truthfulness; but now we have seen all this, with our own eyes. We should, therefore, now send a message to him, through some trustworthy person and ask for his mercy; and hand over the fort to him." When Fófí came to know for certain that Dáhar had been killed, and that the people were contemplating a surrender, he collected all his followers and family members, and as soon as the king of heavenly bodies went behind the curtain of the dark night, he came out of the fort and went to the territory of Jitór, where he joined his brothers Jaisiah and Wakiah, sons of Dáhar, who had been residing at a place called Nazwalah Sandal. There was a man from amongst the Aláfís at Alór, who had been all along co-operating with Fófí and he, with the intention of informing the Arabs outside, of Fófí's flight and concealment, wrote on a piece of paper, the following words: "Fófí Dáhar has resigned the ruler-ship of Alór, and has gone away some where" and tying the paper to an arrow, he shot it out.

A tradition.

Muhammad Kásim now sent his army to commence an assault. Accordingly, warlike men and brave soldiers got over the ramparts, and began to fight. Then all the traders and all the artisans and other professional people immediately sent the following message to the Arab general: "We have given up our allegiance to the Brahmins and have turned away from them. Rái Dáhar has gone away from us, and his son Fófí too has disappeared. We never wished to see such a day. As it was destined by God that all this should happen, no creature dare oppose the will and power of God, and fate cannot be averted by fighting or by any strategem. The kingdom of this world will never last with any one person. When the army of Fate issues forth suddenly from the ambush of mystery, some kings, with its assistance, secure a royal crown and throne, while others, by the vicissitudes of time and the revolutions of fortune, are defeated and isolated. One should not count upon an ancient kingdom or upon a new rulership. It will fall into *his* possession to whom destiny gives it. We, therefore, intend to come to you to pay our respects and, trusting in your justice and kindness, to place the collar of submission and allegiance on our necks. We are ready to deliver the fort to the

faithful officers of the just commander, in the hope that you will pardon us and show us mercy and save us from the depredations of your army. This ancient kingdom has come down to us from Rái Dáhar as an important legacy. As long as he was living, we tried our best to take care of it and to watch over it. Now, that Dáhar is no more and his son Fófí has also run away, subordination to you is welcome to us, and we shall be happy in it." Muhammad Kásim said: "I never sent any proposal to you, nor did I send any messenger to you. You have all had recourse to me, of your own accord, for pardon and protection. You must, therefore, make a solemn promise to withdraw entirely from warfare, if you are sincere in your intentions and are really inclined to render allegiance to us. Unless you come out and satisfy me by making a solemn promise, the enmity between you and us will not cease, and hereafter, I shall not hear or accept your excuses, nor pardon you, and in that case, you should not consider yourselves safe from injury or harm at the hands of my troops."

The garrison make a covenant.

Then the defenders of the fort came down from the battlements, and resolved among themselves, saying: "We are going to open the gate and stand there till Muhammad Kásim comes in. Then, if he confirms his promise, we will surrender and pay homage to him. If he, by way of kindness, receives us well and gives us pardon, well and good, if not, there must be treachery at the bottom of this affair." Having formed this resolution, they came with the key of the fort to the gate. Some of the righteous men sent by Hajjáj, served as a medium of communication and intercession, and the garrison, eventually, opened the gate, and posted themselves near it. Muhammad Kásim then entered and all the townspeople came to the temple of Nóbhár,* and prostrated themselves before an idol. Muhammad Kásim enquired: "Whose house is this, in which all the people high and low are respectfully kneeling and bowing down." They replied: "This is an idol-house called Nóbhár." Then, by Muhammad Kásim's order, the temple was opened. Entering it with his officers he saw an equestrian statue. The body of the idol was made of marble or alabaster, and it had on

* Also written Nówhár, or Naubahár or Nau Wehár.

its arms golden bracelets, set with jewels and rubies. Muhammad Kásim stretched his hand and took off a bracelet from one of the idol's arms. Then he asked the keeper of the Budh temple Nóbhár: "Is this your idol?" "Yes" he replied, "but it had two bracelets on, and one is missing." "Well," said Muhammad Kásim, "cannot your god know who has taken away his bracelet?" The keeper bent his head down. Muhammad Kásim laughed and returned the bracelet to him, and he fixed it again on the idol's arm.

Muhammad Kásim thinks of slaying the fighting class.

Muhammad Kásim now ordered that those of the fighters who submitted should not be killed (but the rest of them should be killed). Ládí however told him: "The people of this country are good builders and some of them are merchants. All the houses in this town have been built by them, and all the lands here are cultivated by them. The treasury has always remained full owing to their earnings and their labours. If you kill them, you lose your wealth." Muhammad Kásim, therefore, to please Ládí spared them all.

A man comes forth and asks for mercy.

The narrators of stories and the writers of histories state that, out of the body of men handed over to the executioners for slaughter, a person stepped forth and said: "I am in possession of a wonderful thing." The executioner told him "show it to me." The man said "I won't show it to you; nor to any person other than the commander himself. Muhammad Kásim was informed of this. He sent for the man, and the man was immediately brought to him. "What wonderful thing have you got?" asked Muhammad Kásim. "A thing" replied the man, "that has never been seen before by any person." "Bring it and show it to me," said Muhammad Kásim. "Promise" said the Brahmin, "that you will give pardon to me, my followers and my children one and all." "I have given it," said Muhammad Kásim. "Be pleased then" said the man, "to pass a written order to that effect, under your signet as letters patent." Muhammad Kásim thought the man had some very precious jewel or exquisite ornament to show. But when he made a solemn promise and handed over a document to that effect to the man, the latter

unwound his beard and loosed the hair of his head after uncovering it, and then rolling his breeches round his toes and standing upright, began to frisk about and dance, and to repeat the following words. "No one has ever seen a more wonderful thing than what I have to show. My beard is so long that it reaches my feet." Muhammad Kásim was taken aback and those who were present, said: "what sort of wonderful thing is this on the strength of which you prayed for a pardon! Indeed you have cheated us." But Muhammad Kasim said: "No, a promise is a promise, after all, and a word a word. Great men never change their promises or break their word. It is said; 'Do not look to the fact that a man is a possessor of learning and science; look to the man's faithfulness in keeping a promise and see how he is in that respect. If a man faithfully performs his promise, he is superior to whatever you can conceive him to be.' No, I shall not kill him but I shall keep him imprisoned and report the matter to Hajjáj and see what he says." Accordingly, that Brahmin with 200 of his near relations and dependents was kept in custody, and the fact was mentioned in the letters written to Hajjáj. Hajjáj asked the learned men of Kúfah and Basrah to give their opinion on the point, and wrote about it to Abdulmalik, the Khalífah of the time. He soon received replies from the Khalífah and from the learned men, who said that such a question had already been raised by the companions of the Prophet, and had been decided by the text of the Korán in which the great God says:—"Some men justly performed what they had promised unto God."* When the solution of the problem was received, the Brahmin with all his followers and dependents was set at liberty.

Jaisiah goes to Kúrij.

It is related by some respectable and worthy people that, when Jaisiah son of Dáhar arrived at the fortified town of Kúrij with 700 men, cavalry and infantry,† the king of Kúrij received him well, showed him proper respect and regard, and gave him hopes and promises, and told him: "I will

* Alkoran (Chap. 33 part 21). This para in the text of the Korán closes with the following verse. "God may reward the just performers of their covenant for their fidelity and may punish the hypocritical, if he pleaseth, or may be turned unto them, for God is ready to forgive and merciful."

† It appears that from Jitór he came to Kúrij.

help you in fighting against the army of Islám." Now it was a custom with Dróhar Rái that every six months he took a day's recess, and observed it as a holiday. On that day he used to drink liquor in the company of women, who sang and danced, and no stranger was allowed to disturb him or thrust himself upon his company and revelry. But as the great God willed it, Jaisiah Dáhar happened (one day) to come just when king Dróhar was in the enjoyment of his holiday. Dróhar, then, sent out a person to Jaisiah to tell him: "We have retired to our private apartment to-day; no stranger or outsider, is allowed to come to us in our sleeping apartment. But since you are a dear guest of ours, and I regard you in the light of a son, do come in without any reserve." So Jaisiah went in, and sat among the merry—makers in the midst of the women. Prince Jaisiah (seeing the women) hung down his head, and began to draw lines on the ground, and would not look up towards the women. Observing this, Dróhar said: "These ladies are in the position of mothers and sisters to you; raise your head and look about." But Jaisiah said: "We people are monks by origin; we never look upon any woman who is a stranger to us." So king Dróhar excused him from looking up, and praised him for his piety and abstinence. It is related that among the ladies who had assembled, there was one Jánkí, Dróhar's sister, who was very beautiful and charming. Jaisiah too was of princely birth and had a handsome face, tall stature, pleasant features and pleasing ways. His speech was like a pearl and his voice like rain. His eyes were beautiful and his cheeks were like tulips and rubies. So, when Dróhar's sister saw him, she fell in love with him. Every now and then she cast sidelong glances at him, and used her blandishments. (When the entertainment was over) Jaisiah retired to his house, and Dróhar's sister Jánkí also got up and went to her home. Presently she had a covered litter got ready with soft cushions in it, and seating herself in it, ordered her maidservants to carry her to the house where Jaisiah had put up. There Jánkí alighted from the litter, and entered the house. Jaisiah was asleep, but when the smell of liquor reached his brains, he awoke and saw Jánkí sitting by his side. He started up and said: "What business has brought the princess here? Is this a time for your coming?" The lady said: "You fool, is there

any need of questioning? A young and beautiful woman has come, at the dead of night, to visit a prince like you, and has awakened you from your sweet slumber, and wishes to lie with you under the same sheet, even a beauty like myself, whose amorous blandishments and gestures can fascinate the world, and for union with whom the whole world is mad. This should have revealed itself fully to your mind, and should not have remained concealed from it. You should consider this good luck to be a godsend till the dawning of the day." Jaisiah said: "O princess, we dare not associate with any woman other than our own lawfully married wife. We can never do such a thing, as we are Brahmins and pious ascetics. Such a wicked deed is not agreeable to the moral taste of great and respectable persons or pious men of learning or good and virtuous people. Have a care that you do not defile me with such a sin." Howsoever much Jánkí grew importunate, Jaisiah paid no attention to her, and firmly rejected her proposal. At length when she thought she would not succeed in the gratification of her wish, she said: "O Jaisiah, you have disoppointed me in the gratification of my heart's desire, my natural inclination and my soul's yearning. I now consider it proper, first, to ruin you and then to burn myself in fire." So saying she returned to her house, and threw herself on her bed, and was restless and agitated the whole night like the fumes of incense, and was reciting the following couplets: *A quatrain*—"This calamity of your love has burnt my heart; and this lamp of your beauty has enlightened my soul. Deal justly with me, or else I will emit a sigh; and burn myself, yourself, and the whole town in one confused mass."

The next day when the planets issused from the heavenly towers of constellations, and the black cloth of night was torn asunder, Jánkí still remained sleeping in her bed. The intoxication of liquor had mixed itself up with the intoxication of separation from her beloved, and so she remained in her bed up to noon. King Dróhar was so fond of his sister Jánkí, that until she came and he saw her face, he would not eat or drink. He had great regard for her and treated her with great respect. He now rose and came to her house, and finding her sad and thoughtful enquired: "O sister, O princess, what is the

matter with you that your tulip coloured face has changed and become pale and yellow like saffron?" Jánkí replied: "O prince, can there be anything more heinous than what that fool of a Sindí has done to me. He happened to see me in your pleasure party, and he came to my private apartment last night, and wanted to have me in order to spoil my garment of virtue and chastity, that has never before been contaminated with the dust of vice, and he wished to defile my chaste body and pure soul, with the dirt and impurity of his lust, and dishonour me by besmearing my robe of honour and purity (with the mud of his unholy passion). The king should now avenge me, so that no reckless rogue should, in future, commit such evil, and act dishonourably, with impunity." On hearing this, the fire of anger began to burn in Dróhar. He told his sister: "He is our guest, and is, besides, a Brahmin and a monk. He has also business with us and has come to ask for succour. He has about one thousand warriors with him, and he cannot be killed until double that number of our people are killed. I will, however, have recourse to a plot and put him to death. Do you rise now and take your meal. As no tangible harm has been done, no punishment can be (openly) dealt out to him."

Dróhar lays a plot, and his sister Jánkí makes use of a malicious trick against Jaisiah

Dróhar then came home and immediately sent for two men armed with swords. The name of one was Subet and of the other Bhán. He addressed them thus: "I mean to invite Jaisiah to-day, in the afternoon and to entertain him as a guest. After we have finished our dinner, we shall retire to the drawing room to have a drink and to enjoy each other's company. I shall then play at chess with Jaisiah, and both of you should keep yourselves ready with your weapons, and as soon as I say: 'the king is check-mated' you should draw your swords and kill Jaisiah." Luckily a Sindí, who was one of Dáhar's attendants and was on intimate terms with one of the confidential servants of Dróhar, came to know of this plot and communicated it to his friend, who in his turn informed Jaisiah. So when Dróhar's confidential servant came to call Jaisiah to dinner, the latter sent for two of his dare-devil Thakurs, who were at the head of the executioners and told them: Look here, you Túrsiah

and Súrsiah, I am going to dine with king Dróhar, you must come along with me, ready with your weapons, even into the room. I shall play at chess with Dróhar and you should stand behind Dróhar, and watch all the time lest the effect of evil eyes or mischievous plots or treachery may make itself manifest. In this wise, they went to the palace. Dróhar had omitted to instruct his men not to admit any one else besides Jaisiah. So both the brave swords-men came in, without any hindrance, and quietly stood behind Dróhar, without his being aware of the fact. When the play at chess drew to its close, Dróhar raised his head in order to make a sign to his men, and his eyes fell upon the two persons, who were standing quite ready with their weapons. He was much vexed at heart on this account, and said: "The king is not check-mated. That chess-man should not be killed." Jaisiah understood that that was a hint to Dróhar's men; so he rose and came to his house, and immediately ordered his horses to be saddled, and his men to get ready. He then had a bath and adjusted his weapons and directing his followers to mount, left the place. Just then, Dróhar sent a servant to see what Jaisiah was doing, and the men returned and said: "The mercy of God be on him, whose nature is adorned with the ornaments of piety and obstinence, whose origin is noble and who has always been endeavouring to remain pure and chaste in hope and fear (of God)."

A tradition.

There is a tradition that when Jaisiah had taken his bath and finished his dinner, he put on his arms, loaded his animals, and riding his horse, he came to the gate of king Dróhar's palace, and without paying him a farewell visit, went away with his retinue; leaving word merely to inform Dróhar of his departure. He journeyed on, till he arrived at Jalandhar in the land of Kashmír. The ruler of the place was called Balhrá. Jaisiah resided in the quarters given to him and he remained there till the Khalífate of Umar son of Abdul Azíz, when Umar son of Salm Aala received orders from the Khalífah to conquer that part of the country, and it was accordingly conquered.

The origin of Jaisiah's name and his bravery.

It is related by some Brahmins of Alór that Jaisiah son of Dáhar had no equal in wisdom and bravery. The story of his birth runs as follows:—One day, Rái Dáhar

went out on a hunting excursion in the vicinity of the city with the necessary provisions, appliances and animals. He left his trained hounds and panthers and lynxes to chase the deer, and he let loose his hawks and falcons and eagles to soar aloft in the open air. All of a sudden a (mighty) lion made its appearance and the hunters and the retinue were all terror-stricken and blinded with fright. Dáhar however alighted from his horse and turned straight on the lion. On the lion attacking him, Dáhar immediately rolled his scarf round his left arm and thrust that arm into the lion's mouth, and drawing his sword lopped off both of its forelegs. Then, withdrawing his arm, he dealt it a blow with his sword on its belly and cut it open. The lion then dropped down dead. The people who had run away in fright, came to the palace and informed the queen of Rái Dáhar fighting with the lion. Now Dáhar's wife was pregnant and when she heard this news, she fell down senseless, owing to the excess of love she bore her husband. She remained in that state, till Dáhar returned from the hunt, and then it was found, that overcome by the shock her soul had already left her body, and the child was moving in her abdomen. He ordered the abdomen to be operated on, and on this being done, a living male child issued. It was entrusted to a nurse, and named Jaisiah, which means, 'conqueror or vanquisher of a lion.'*

Appointment of a grand-son of Abu Af son of Kais son of Rawáh Asadi to the governorship of Alór.

The dressers of these brides (tales) and the gardeners of these plants (histories) have stated on the authority of Alí Muhammad son of Salmah son of Mubárik, and Abdurrahmán son of Abdulláh Salítí, that when Muhammad Kásim brought Alór the proud capital of Sind under his sway and subjection, and all the people rendered allegiance and submitted to him, he appointed Rawáh son of Asad one of the grandsons of Abú Áf son of Kais, to be the governor of Alór; while the administration of legal and religious matters, the dispensation of justice and the preaching of sermons, were entrusted to the highest priest in the realm, the great, the learned, the demonstrator of religion and faith, the (vindicating) sword

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* *Jai* means victory and *Siah* or *Sinh* (like sing) a lion.

of religious customs and the load-star of religious laws, Músá son of Yaakúb son of Táí son of Muhammad son of Shaibán son of Usmán Sakifí (may God be merciful to them all). Muhammad Kásim instructed him to show due kindness to all the subjects, and act in accordance with that text of the Korán which says: "Let them command that which is just and forbid that which is evil."* He asked both of them, in positive terms, to deal kindly with and take proper care of the people.† Then he left, and marched on till he came to the fortified town of Babiah, which contained an ancient fort situated on the southern bank of the Beas.‡ The ruler of the place was Kaksah son of Chandar son of Seláij, a cousin of Dáhar, who was present at the battle fought with Dáhar and had fled after the defeat of that prince and had taken shelter in this fort. When the army of Islám approached the town, he sent tribute and hostages in advance, and soon afterwards, the chiefs and nobles of the place went to the Arab general and kissed the ground in token of submission and servitude, before him. Muhammad Kásim received them kindly and gave them proper respect, and said: "This Kaksah is one of the people of Alór, and they are all wise men and philosophers, and are known for their truth and honesty, faithfulness and strength of mind. I therefore, give him pardon in order that he may be encouraged to come to me. I will make him my counseller and will take his advice in all things. I will deal fairly with him and treat him as my minister."

Counsellership of Kaksah.

Kaksah was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. After he came and joined Muhammad Kásim, the latter used occasionally to make him sit in front of his dais to consult with him. Muhammad Kásim always valued his counsels and followed them. He was considered the most

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* Chap. 3 part 4. The whole verse is "Let there be people among you who invite men to the best religion; and command that which is just and forbid that which is evil; and they shall be happy."

† According to the Táríkh Maasúmí and the Tuhfatulkirám, Abú Áf son of Kais son of Rawáh was appointed governor of Alór and not Rawáh a grandson of Abú Áf.

‡ The date on which after settling the affairs at Alór Muhammad Kásim proceeded to the district of Multan, is given by the Táríkh Maasúmí as the 1st of Rabí-ul-awwal 94, the 3rd month from Muharram (A. D. 712.)

prominent of all the noblemen and of all the captains of the army. The financial work of the country was entrusted to his charge, and the treasury was under his seal. Thenceforth, in all the wars, he remained with Muhammad Kásim who gave him the appellation of "The blessed counseller."

An account of the conquest of Sikkah Multán by Muhammad Kásim.

When this affair of Kaksah was brought to a happy close, Muhammad Kásim left that fort, and, crossing the river Beas, came to the fort of Ghólkandah. The people of that fortified town, learning of the approach of the Arab army, came forth ready to fight, and Randah son of Abar Altáfí, and Kaksah, taking the lead, engaged them, and many a pitched battle was fought in which streams of blood flowed on both sides. But when the time of after-noon prayers arrived, the Arabs raised their war cry of "God is great," and made an assault right and left. The infidels then were put to flight and they took shelter in the fort, and from the top of the walls began to shower arrows, and discharge stones from their slings. The siege went on in this way for a week. A nephew of the ruler of Multán, who was in the fort of Multán, also fought several battles with the Arabs. Hunger now began to be felt in the army, as the supplies of corn failed. Ultimately the ruler of Ghólkandah left the fort at night, and threw himself into the fort of Síkkah. This fort was situated on the southern bank of the river Ráwí. After the departure of the ruler the poor people as well as the artisans and traders sent a message to the Arab general, saying: "We are but sujects. Our ruler has now gone away; give us pardon." Muhammad Kásim gave pardon to the merchants, the agriculturists and the artisans, and entered the fort. He put to the sword 4,000 men of the military class, and took their followers and dependents prisoners. He then appointed Atbah son of Muslim to be in charge of the place, and himself taking his army with him went towards Síkkah Multán. That fort, was on the southern bank of the river Ráwí, and Bachhrá, a grand son of Bachhra Tákí, was in the fort. When he received the news, he at once met the Arabs in open field. Every day, when the Arab army approached the fort, the garrison came out and fought with them. Thus for 17 days hard battles were fought, in which twenty of the noteworthy

companions of Muhammad Kásim fell martyrs, and about 215 men from the Syrian forces were killed : Bachhrá then crossed the Ráwí, and went over to Multán. Muhammad Kásim was so much affected with grief for the loss of his friends, that he made a vow on oath, to raze the fort to the ground. He further ordered all the towns to be plundered and destroyed. He then crossed over to Multán, where Kundrái of Multán and Bachhrá came out to give him battle.

Muhammad Kásim fights with Kundrái.

That whole day they fought, from morning to evening. When the world put on a dark blanket like that used by miserable wretches, and the king of stars concealed his head behind the curtain of the west, they went back to their respective camps. The next day when the true dawn appeared above the horizon from behind the dark screen of night, and the world was filled with light, they commenced fighting a second time, and many men were lost on both sides. In this way the war went on continuously for two months. The Sindís exerted themselves to the utmost in throwing arrows and stones, and using catapults and slings, and corn became so scarce in the camp that three donkey loads were sold for 500 dirams. (Eventually) Prince Kaksah son of Chandar cousin to Dáhar seeing that the Arab army remained as strong and vigorous as before, and showed no sign of weakness or languor, and that his people expected no succour from any side, took himself to the king of Kashmír for refuge. The next day the Arab forces came forth and commenced fighting as before. They could however, by no means, make a breach in the walls or make any subterranean passage, till a man came out from the fort asking for mercy, and, on being given a pledge of safety by Muhammad Kásim, pointed out a spot on the northern side of the fort, bordering on the bank of the river. From that spot the soldiers burrowed onwards, and made a breach. (Thanks to their perseverance) in 2 or 3 days, the fort walls toppled down, and the fort was taken. 6,000 military men were slain, and their followers and dependents were made prisoners of war. The merchants, the artisans and the agriculturists of the place however were all pardoned, but were required to collect among themselves the tribute for the treasury of the

Khalífah, and a certain amount of cash to be distributed as a well-deserved largess as well as compensation among the Arab forces who had taken so much trouble and run so much risk in making the breach and in fighting with the enemy.

The distribution of the cash.

Accordingly all the nobility and gentry of the town assembled, and subscribed 60,000 dirams of silver in weight, which sum was distributed among the Arab army, each horseman receiving 400 dirams of silver in weight as his exclusive share. Muhammad Kásim next told them: "You must now arrange for the tribute and the Khalífah's share which are to be sent to the treasury of his capital." While they were conversing and deliberating a Brahmin appeared there, all of a sudden and said: "As the reign of the infidels has come to its close, and temples have been razed to the ground, and as the world has been enlightened with the light of Islám, and, in place of idol-houses, mosques and pulpits are being built, I must no longer hesitate to inform you of what I have heard from the old men of Multán; and that is, that in ancient times in this very town, there lived a king, by name Jaswín, who was a descendent of the Rái of Kashmír. He was a Brahmin and an ascetic. He was well-versed in his own religion, and was constantly busy worshipping idols. When his wealth and treasure increased beyond enumeration, he built a large cistern, on the eastern side of Multán, measuring 100 yards by 100 yards. In the middle of this cistern, he constructed an idol-house, 50 yards long and 50 broad, and he buried forty large copper jars underneath, and, over the spot he placed an idol, made of brilliant gold. Round that cistern he planted some trees.

* It is related by the writers of history and narrators of tales on the authority of Alí son of Muhammad (who heard it from Abú Muhammad Hindí), that Muhammad Kásim, accompanied by his companions, chief attendants and private servants, went to the temple. He found an idol made of gold, with two eyes of red rubies in its face. It was so like a living man that Muhammad Kásim mistook it for one, and he drew his sword in order to strike it. The keeper of the idol said: "O just

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* In one copy the following heading is put for this para "The idol house is opened."

commander, this is only an idol, which has been made by Jaswín the king of Multán, who has buried his treasure here." Muhammad Kásim then ordered the idol to be removed thence. It weighed 230 maunds of gold. The treasure contained in the 40 jars was then brought out and weighed. It amounted to 1,320 maunds of gold. The idol as well as the other gold was removed to the public treasury; and the jewels and pearls obtained by plunder in the town of Multán together with other treasures, either exposed or buried, were all carried away.

It is related by Abul Hasan Hamadání (as stated by Huzaim son of Amrú) that on the day the idol-house was discovered and the treasure secured, a letter was received from Hajjáj Yúsif, which ran as follows: "O my cousin, at the time of sending out that expedition under you, I had pledged my word with Khalífah Walíd son of Abdul-malik son of Marwán, and given a guarantee that whatever amount of money, issued from the treasury of the Khalífah, was spent on the preparation of the expedition, &c., would be replaced by me with double the amount. Now on enquiry from the officers of the Khalífah's treasury, I learn that 60,000 dirams of silver have been sent to you for expenditure of the expedition; and what you have, up to this day, paid back, either in cash or kind, together with the rich stuffs, has been taken down in detail and totalled up. It amounts to 1,20,000 dirams and 20,000 dirams besides,* and all this has been sent to the royal treasury. Now you should build mosques and pulpits wherever you find a permanent village or a town or a celebrated city, and order that Friday orations be delivered and coins struck in the name of the Khalífah. You have raised your troops on a very auspicious day and hour; so be sure, to whichever part of the country of the infidels you may turn your face, you will conquer it."

Muhammad Kásim settles certain conditions of peace with the people of the town of Multan.

When peace was concluded on solemn conditions with the chiefs and dignitaries of the town of Multán, Muhammad Kásim laid the foundation of a big mosque with a lofty turret, and appointed Dáúd

* In some copies these are maunds and in others dirams. I believe dirams is the more correct word, as these figures are given here for comparison with those given just above, and by giving these figures, it is meant to show that double the amount, *viz.* 1,20,000, has already been repaid as stipulated and the surplus paid amounts to 20,000.

son of Nasar son of Walíd Ammání as the governor of Multán, and Ajhar son of Haraiwah son of Atbah Madaní as the superintendent of the fort.* He then sent off the treasure by boats, and ordered that, at Debal, it should be placed in a ship and conveyed to the treasury of the Khalífah. He fixed his residence at Multan, with nearly 50,000 choice horsemen, as a permanent force equipped with all the necessary arms and instruments of war.† He next sent Abú Halím Shaibání with 10,000 cavalry to Kanúj, with a decree of the Khalífah inviting the people to share the blessings of Islám, to submit and make homage to him, and to pay the tribute for the public treasury. Muhammad Kásim himself marched out with his army to the frontiers of Kashmír, called Panj Náhiyát ‡ and arrived at the place where Dáhar's father, Chach Seláij, had planted a fir tree (or a white poplar) and branded a mark on it. Muhammad Kásim fixed a fresh boundary mark there.

Arrival of the Arab army at Udhápur under the command of Abú Halím.

Rái Harchandar Jahshal was the king of Kanúj at that time. When the army arrived at Udhápur§ Abú Halím Shaibání sent for Zaid son of Amrú Kilábí and told him: "O Zaid you must go as an envoy to Rái Harchandar Jahshal and deliver to him the order calling upon him to submit to Islám. Tell him, "From the sea to the limits of Kashmir, every king and every prince has come under the sway of Islám. Amir Imáduddín (Muham-

* In the copy of H. H. Mir Husain Ali Khan, I find the following words at this place, which seem to have been omitted in other copies. "He appointed Khuzaiwah son of Abdul Malik son of Tamím to the command of the fortified town of Mahyór, on the bank of the river Jelum and he nominated Akramah son of Rehán to be in charge of some provincial towns in the province of Multán."

† According to the Tárikh Maasúmí after taking Multan, Muhammad Kásim came with an army of 50,000 men and conquered Dibálpur on the bank, of the river and appointed Khuzaiwah son of Abdul Malik son of Tamím as governor of the place.

This corresponds to a certain extent with the two sentences omitted in several copies, as shown above. Only there the name of the place is Mahyor and here Debalpur. The latter seems to be correct.

‡ This place has been once before mentioned.

§ This is perhaps the present Udhepur. It is clearly written so in the Tuhfatulkirám.

mad Kásim) is the commander-in-chief of the Arab army and he is the most powerful conqueror of infidels. Most of the kings and subjects have already submitted to the yoke of Islám, and the rest have undertaken to pay the annual tribute, fixed on them, to the treasury of the Khalífah'."

The reply of Rái Harchandar of Kanúj.

Rái Harchandar said in reply "This kingdom has remained in our possession for nearly 1600 years; and during our rule no enemy has ever dared to set foot within our territories with offensive intentions or to stretch his hand to dispossess us of any part of our country. What fear have we of your absurd vapourings? It is improper and against the rules of etiquette to imprison an envoy or to put him in chains; or else, for this nonsensical talk and absurd boast of yours, I would have made an example of you to serve as a warning to other enemies of kings. Now go back to your *amír*, and tell him that we must meet once and measure each other's strength and prowess. Then, either we shall overpower you or be overpowered. When the strength and bravery of both sides is put to the test on the field of battle, we shall decide whether to make peace or to carry on war."

When this message of Rái Harchandar was duly conveyed to Muhammad Kásim, he called all the dignitaries, chiefs, nobles, generals, warriors, heroes and all his officers, and said: "We have conquered and degraded Hind so far, with divine grace and heavenly help, and success and victory have so long been accompanying the army of Islám. To-day, when we have come face to face with this haughty cursed creature, who has become so madly vain on account of his men and elephants, we must try our utmost with the help and under the protection of God, to overawe him and to gain an easy victory." All of them, then, began to prepare to fight with Rái Harchandar. They made a strong joint vow, and encouraged one another to war against their common enemy.

Muhammad Kásim receives an order from the Khalífah.

The next day when the king of stars made his appearance from behind the curtain of night, a camelman bearing a letter from the capital of the Khalífahs arrived. Muhammad son of Alí, and Abdul Hasan Humadání relate that at the time of Rái Dáhar's death, two of his virgin

daughters had been captured in his seraglio. Muhammad Kásim sent them in charge of some Abyssinian servants to the holy city of Baghdád.* The Khalífah ordered them to be taken into his seraglio, in order that they might take rest and be comforted for some days, and be in a fit condition to be admitted into his bed-chamber. After some time† the Khalífah remembered them, and ordered that both, of them be brought to him at night. When they came, Wálid son of Abdul Malik required his interpreter to make the usual enquiries, and to ask them as to which of them was the elder, so that one of them might be kept back and taken care of till her sister's turn was over. The interpreter first asked their names. The elder of them said, "My name is Súrijdew,"‡ and the younger said "My name is Pirmaldew." He then called the elder sister to himself, and ordered the younger to be removed and taken care of. When he seated the elder near himself, she unveiled her face and the Khalífah of the time looked at it, and became charmed with her perfect beauty. Her blood-sucking blandishments, took away patience from his heart, and he began to take liberties with her, and, catching hold of Súrijdew, pulled her to himself. Súrijdew sprang up and said: "May the king live long: I, a humble slave, am not fit for your Majesty's bed-room, because the just amír, Imáduddín Muhammad Kásim kept us both with him for 3 days, and then sent us to the Khalífah. Perhaps your custom is such, or else this kind of disgrace should not be permitted by kings." At that moment his passion for the girl blinded the Khalífah. He lost patience, and his excess of jealousy did not permit him to make any enquiries. He therefore immediately sent for pen, ink and paper, and with his own hands wrote an order, directing that "Muhammad Kásim should, wherever he may be, put himself in raw leather § and come back to the chief seat of the Khalífah."

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* According to the Tárikh Maasúmí the two girls were sent in charge of Muhammad son of Alí Humadání.

† The Tárikh Maasúmí fixes this period as two months.

‡ In some copies this name is Suriadeo.

§ In the Tárikh Maasúmí it is "a bullock's hide."

When Muhammad Kásim received this order on his arrival at Udhápur, he at once asked his men to put him into a fresh hide. This was done and the living parcel was placed in a box and carried away. Muhammad Kásim thus in a short time breathed his last. After his death the governors, appointed to different divisions of the country, remained in charge of them. As for the box, it was taken to the Khalífah. The men who had brought it, at first requested the chief attendant, to inform Walíd son of Abdul Malik son of Marwán that Muhammad Kásim had been brought. "Is he dead or alive?" inquired the Khalífah. "He is dead" was the reply. "He got your order in the town of Udhápur, and immediately he enclosed himself in raw leather. After two days* he entrusted his soul to God and went to the everlasting abode. The rulers and governors appointed by him to different places have remained secure in their possessions and are trying their best to administer the country well in the name of the Khalífah, whom they duly mention (with praise) in the orations and addresses that are delivered from the pulpits."

Muhammad Kásim arrives at Udhápur and receives the Khalífah's order.

Then the Khalífah raised the lid, and opened the box. The two girls were also called to be present there. The Khalífah had a stick of green emerald in his hand at that time, and he placed it on the teeth of the dead body, and said: "O daughters of Rái Dáhar, look how our orders are promptly obeyed by our officers; they are ever anxious to carry them out strictly. As soon as he got our letter in Kanúj, he sacrificed his dear life at our behest."

The Khalífah opens the box.

Hearing this, the virgin girl, Jankí,† removed her veil from her face and placing her head on the ground, said: "May the king live long, and may his power and dignity increase and last for many many years! The sovereign of the time, who is supposed to be a perfect

Conversation between Dáhar's daughter Jankí † and the Khalífah Abdul Malik.

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* In the Tarikh Maasúmí it is 3 days.

† I really cannot understand how this new name springs up here. I think it is a mistake. Jankí here is the eldest daughter of Dáhar and we were told above that her name was Súrijdew, her younger sister's being Pirmaldew—Jankí the daughter of Drohar, king of Kúrij was mentioned some pages back.

paragon of wisdom, should consider it his duty, to weigh and test (like gold) whatever comes to his ears whether from a friend or a foe, and when he finds it to be true beyond doubt, then only (and not before) is he justified in issuing decisive orders, lest he be punished by the divine wrath and held up to scorn by human tongues. It is true that your command is strictly obeyed, but it never occurred to your majesty to make a preliminary enquiry. The fact is that Muhammad Kásim was like a brother or a son to us; he never touched us, your slaves, and our chastity was safe with him. But in as much as he brought ruin on the king of Hind and Sind, desolated the kingdom of our fathers and grandfathers, and degraded us from princely rank to slavery, we have, with the intention of being revenged on him and of bringing ruin and degradation on him in return, misrepresented the matter and spoken a false thing to your majesty against him. Now our object is gained, for by means of this deceit and falsehood, we have taken our revenge. As for your majesty's passing an urgent and irresistable order, if the excess of lust and passion had not eclipsed and clouded your majesty's reason and judgment, you would have thought it proper to enquire into the matter first and would not have made yourself blameworthy and repentant. As for Muhammad Kásim himself if he had had any sense in him he would have travelled in the usual way, till he had arrived within a day's journey from here, and then enclosed himself in raw leather, so that after enquiries had been made he would have been acquitted and would not have died."

When the Khalífah heard all this, he was so much overpowered by grief, that he bit the back of his hand.

Another speech of Jankí.

The Princess Jankí then once more attempted to speak, and looking at the Khalífah and finding that he was much enraged, said: "The king has committed a great blunder, since for the sake of two slave girls he has killed a man who captured a hundred thousand noble girls like us, brought down seventy kings, who were rulers of Hind and Sind from a royal throne to a bier, and built mosques and minarets in place of idol-houses and temples. Even if it be assumed that he did some slight mischief or was guitly of an inde-

cent act, Muhammad Kásim should not have been killed simply on the slanderous word of a malicious individual."

The Khalífah immediately ordered the two sisters to be buried alive in a wall.* From that time up to our own days, the banner of Islám has been rising higher and higher and gaining greater and greater glory day by day.

Prayer.

May the sovereign of highest dignity and of the holiest names, keep the past kings of Islám drowned in the ocean of His mercy, and the present kings steadfast on the thrones of their kingdoms, as long as the universe lasts and time continues, and until the period of life, given to Adam's children, comes to its close; and may He with his divine grace and help, protect the banners of Islám, through their power and awe, from accidental misfortunes and evil auguries of the time.

Conclusion of the book called 'the highway of religion and the glory of the high and great chief the eye of the kingdom.'

This book which bears the title of 'The highway of religion and the glory of the high and great chief the eye of the kingdom' is one of the compositions of Arab men of learning † and moral philosophers, on the conquest of the country of Hind and Sind. It is a book adorned with beautiful thoughts and varieties of nature, with wonder of wisdom and curiosities of knowledge and with excellencies of hearts and singularities of mind. It is nectar for the hearts of friends and a garden for human beings and spirits. It is based on the foundation of laws and of Government and on the strength of constitutional administration. It contains eloquent discourses on religious and state matters and treats of territorial and national peculiarities. As it occupied a high rank in the

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* According to the Táríkh Maasúmí the two girls were tied to the tails of horses and were dragged to death; their bodies were torn into pieces and thrown into the Dajlah (Tigris) while the corpse of Muhammad Kásim was buried in the country at Damascus. The Tuhfatulkirám also states on the authority of some other sources that the two girls were tied to the legs of an elephant and after thus being exposed in the public streets were burnt to death.

† This refers to the original arabic book on the conquest of Sind of which the Persian Chachnámah is a translation and to which a reference has already been made in the beginning of the book.

very superior arabic language and in the accomplished Hijazic* tongue, all the princes of Arabia derived encouragement and excessive pleasure from reading it. But since it was enveloped in Arabic, and was made of the ornament and beauty of Persian idiom, it could not become popular with Persia or other non-Arab countries. No dresser of the people of Fars (Persia) had (before this translation) dressed and adorned the bride of this book of conquest, or prepared garments for her in the manufactory of just and philosophical words, or given her any ornament from the treasury of wisdom, and none of them had galloped a horse in this field of eloquence or in this meadow of rhetoric. The events of the days of yore crowded in my mind, and the troops of tragical occurrances and accidents of the time assembled in the ship of my chest. Different kinds of misery and anxiety are hard by, but there are no means of help and patronage available. Different varieties of danger have settled themselves around (me), but the means of avoiding or averting them are uncertain.

Thanks to God, the book is finished.

The copyist's apology.†

Verse. If any mistake has crept in while copying this book, O reader, do not be angry with me or blame me for it. *Verse.* The writing remains on the paper for an age, while its writer gets reduced to dust.

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* Hijjáz is the name for Mecca and the surrounding country which is termed "Arabia Felix."

† These verses of apology are given in several copies. I have translated them because almost every copy of the book is full of mistakes and requires such an apology. The translator's apology is the same.

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EVERYTHING in Sind is a monument, from the tumbling ruins of Mohen-Jo-Daro to the intricately designed tombs of Makli, the forces that blend together to give this part of the world its proud heritage have been recorded and preserved by way of oral traditions and the pen.

Chachnama or the Fatehnama is not only the oldest source on the conditions prevalent in Sind prior to its conquest by the Arabs, but also the only material though scant, available in this part of the world.

It was originally written in Arabic, but the scholars could only find its Persian translation which has since been translated in Urdu, Sindhi and English. Historians have not been able to suggest an authentic pen to the original source, however the Persian translation is by Ali Kufi, an Arab Historian (around 613 A.H.).

It is often said that history is a bad joke played by the present upon the past, that is perhaps the reason why it is not taken seriously and since it does record its verdict the drama is enacted encore. There is also a feeling that history is distorted specially by the victor and also by a foreigner's approach and interpretation. Suffice it to say that this is the basic source of history available on Sind, whatever its merits or demerits. The first edition of this translation by Late Shamsul Ulema Mirza Kalech Beg appeared in 1900, and has been out of print for many years, therefore the need for a reprint.

Late Mirza Kalech Beg occupies a cherished place in Sindhi literature, he was a prolific writer and his works, nearly 450 published books, bear testimony to his scintillating position.